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**THE CHINESE:**  
**GENERAL DESCRIPTION**  
**OF**  
**CHINA AND ITS INHABITANTS.**

By **JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., &c.**  
**GOVERNOR OF HONG-KONG.**

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*A NEW EDITION, ENLARGED AND REVISED.*

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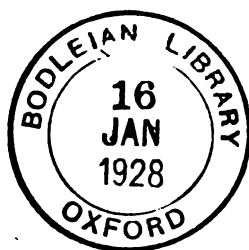
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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE following work owes its origin to a collection of notes which the author made while resident in China ; and these notes were compiled for a reason not altogether dissimilar to the motive which a French writer alleges for an undertaking of the same kind—" le désir de tout connaître, en étant obligé de le décrire." A residence of more than twenty years (which terminated in the author succeeding the late amiable and unfortunate Lord Napier as his Majesty's chief authority in China) has perhaps been calculated to mature and correct those opinions of the country and people which he had formed, as a very young man, in accompanying Lord Amherst on the embassy to Peking in 1816. If some acquaintance, besides, with the language and literature of the Chinese empire has not been of considerable assistance to him in increasing the extent and accuracy of his information, it must have been his own fault entirely, and not any want of opportunities and means.

It is singular that no general and systematic work on China has ever yet been produced in this country, notwithstanding that our immediate interest in the subject has been vastly greater than that of any other European nation. At the head of *travels*, both as to date and excellence, stand the authentic account of Lord Macartney's *Mission* by Staunton, and Barrow's



China, to both of which works it will be seen that reference has been more than once made in the following pages. The above authorities have not been superseded by anything that has since appeared in the course of thirty or forty years, though the works of Mr. Ellis and Dr. Abel, the results of Lord Amherst's embassy, are of a highly respectable class, and contain much valuable information on those points to which they confine themselves. Still no general account of the Chinese empire has ever issued from the English press; and Père du Halde's compilation has still remained the only methodised source of information on the subject. One century exactly has now elapsed since that voluminous and in many respects highly valuable work was first printed. A great deal has of necessity become antiquated, and it is not easy for any one, who is personally unacquainted with China, to separate the really sound and useful information it contains, from the prejudice which distorts some portions, and the nonsense which encumbers others. Of the last, the endless pages on the "Doctrine of the Pulse" may be taken as one specimen.

The following pages being intended wholly for the use of the general reader, so much only of each subject has been touched upon as seemed calculated to convey a summary though at the same time accurate species of information in an easy and popular way.

The superiority which the Chinese possess over the other nations of Asia is so decided as scarcely to need the institution of an elaborate comparison. Those who have had opportunities of seeing both have readily admitted it, and none more so than the Right

able Henry Ellis, our ambassador to Persia, his intimate personal acquaintance with China and as well as with Persia, rendered him peculiarly qualified to form a just estimate. The moral causes of difference so striking may perhaps occur to the reader of the subjoined work: the physical causes of it, it may reasonably be supposed, in the advancement which China possesses from its geographical position; in the generally favourable climate, the great fertility of soil, and the great facility of internal intercourse with which the country has been blessed by nature, and which has been still farther improved by art. The *early advancement* of China, in the general history of the globe, may likewise be accounted for, in some measure, by natural and physical causes, and by the position of the whole of that vast country (with a very trivial exception) within the *tropical zone*. On this point the author will repeat observations which he long since made in another place; that "an attentive survey of the tropical regions of the earth, where food is produced in the greatest abundance, will seem to justify the conclusion that *extreme* fertility, or power of production, has been rather unfavourable to the progress of the human race; or, at least, that the industry and advancement of nations has appeared in some measure to depend on a certain *proportion* between their necessities and their natural resources. Man is by nature an indolent animal, and without the stimulant of necessity will, in the first instance, get on as well as he can with the provision that nature has made for him. In the warm fertile regions of the tropics, or rather of the *torrid*, where lodging and clothing, the two

necessary things after food, are rendered almost superfluous by the climate, and where food itself is produced with very little exertion,\* we find how small a progress has in most instances been made; while, on the other hand, the whole of Europe, and by far the greater part of China, are situated beyond the northern tropic. If, again, we go *farther* north, to those arctic regions where man exists in a very miserable state, we shall find that *there* he has no materials to work upon. Nature is such a niggard in the returns which she makes to labour, that industry is discouraged and *frozen*, as it were, in the outset. In other words, the *proportion* is destroyed; the equinoctial regions are too spontaneously genial and fertile; the arctic too unkindly barren; and on this account it would seem that industry, wealth, and civilisation have been principally confined to the temperate zone, where there is at once *necessity* to excite labour, and *production* to recompense it." There are, no doubt, other important circumstances, besides geographical situation, which influence the advancement of nations; but this at least is too considerable an ingredient to be left out of the calculation.

J. F. D.

\* See the observations of Humboldt on the use of the banana in New Spain.

# THE CHINESE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE.

is intended in the following pages to give such an account of the manners and customs, the social, political, and religious institutions, together with the natural productions, the arts, manufactures, and commerce of China, as may be deemed interesting to the general reader. The most fitting introduction to this sketch will be, a cursory view of the early acquaintance of the western world with the country of which we are about to treat, followed up by some notices of more modern intercourse of Europeans, and particularly the English, with the Chinese.

Antiquity affords us but a few uncertain hints relating an empire so far removed to the utmost parts of Eastern Asia as to have formed no part in the aspirations of Macedonian or of Roman dominion. See a modern conqueror to stop on the banks of the Ganges, and sigh that he had no more nations to conquer, what has been admired in the pupil of Aristotle himself would be a mere absurdity in the most enlightened chieftain of these more enlightened times. May we reasonably hope that the science and civilization which have already so greatly enlarged the sphere of our knowledge of foreign countries may, by diminishing the vulgar admiration for such pestiferous surges of the human race, as military conquerors usually proved, advance and facilitate the peace-

L. L.

ful intercourse of the most remote countries with each other, and thereby increase the general stock of knowledge and happiness among mankind.

It seems sufficiently clear that the *Seres* mentioned by Horace, and other Latin writers, were not the Chinese.\* This name has, with greater probability, been interpreted as referring to another people of Asia, inhabiting a country to the westward of China; and the texture, termed by the Romans *serica*, in all likelihood meant a cotton rather than a silken manufacture, which latter was distinguished by the name *bombycina*. There appears sufficient evidence, however, for the fact, that some of the ancients were not altogether ignorant of the existence of such a people. Arrian speaks of the *Sinæ*, or *Thinæ*, in the remotest parts of Asia, by whom were exported the raw and manufactured silks which were brought by the way of Bactria (Bokhara) westwards. It was under the race of Han, perhaps the most celebrated era of Chinese history, that an envoy is stated to have been sent in A.D. 94, by the seventeenth emperor of that dynasty, to seek some intercourse with the western world. This minister is said to have reached Arabia; and as it is certain that *Hoty*, the prince by whom he was deputed, was the first sovereign of China who introduced the use of Eunuchs into the palace, it may be deemed probable that he borrowed them from thence. The contests of the Chinese with the Tartars, even at that early period, are stated to have been the occasion of a Chinese general reaching the borders of the Caspian, at the time when Trajan was Emperor of Rome. The growing consumption among the luxurious Latins of the valuable and beautiful silk stuffs with which they were supplied through the me-

\* It is noticed by Florus, that ambassadors came from the *Seres* to Augustus; but Horace notices the *Seres* in a way which makes it unlikely they should have been the Chinese.

"*Neo sollicitus times quid Seres, et regnata Cyro Bactra parent.*"

of India, seems to have tempted the Emperor Antoninus to despatch an embassy to the country which was reported to produce those manufactures. The numerous obstacles presented by a land journey induced him to send his mission by sea, A.D. Like most attempts of the kind, this appears to have been an entire failure, and the ambassadors returned from China without having paved the way to a frequent or intimate intercourse with that distant country.

Jesuits have informed us, that some of the Chinese missionaries discovered, in the year 1625, one of the principal cities of the province of Shensi, an inscription in Syriac letters, recording the first introduction of Christianity into China in the year 635, by certain Nestorian bishops, who had travelled eastward by persecutions in the Roman Empire. We are not indebted, however, to these missionaries for any early account of the country. Their discovery is in the same province of Shensi, at the time when Marco Polo visited China, is clearly proved by that traveller, as may be seen in Marsden's *Marco Polo*, page 404. To those who travelled by land from Persia, and other countries bordering on the Mediterranean, it was the easiest of access, as being the nearest point of the empire, towards Peking; and they were probably induced to settle there, from the fact that it was one of the most populous and civilized portions of China at that early period.

Marco Polo, besides, states that in a city in the neighbourhood of Nanking, on the banks of the Yangtze, there were "two churches of Nestorian Christians, which were built in 1274, when his majesty the emperor appointed a Nestorian, named Mar Sachia, to govern it (the city) for three years.

These churches were established where there had been any before, and they still subsist."\* The author justly observes, that the existence of these

\* *Marsden's Marco Polo*, p. 501.

churches, of which no reasonable doubt can be entertained, is a curious fact in the history of the progress made by the Christian religion in the eastern or remoter parts of China. "It is remarkable," he adds, "that De Guignes, in describing a religious building not far from this city, mentions a tradition that gives strength to the belief of an early Christian establishment in that quarter: 'Les Chinois racontent qu'un Chrétien, nommé Kiang-tsy-tay, vivoit dans ce lieu il y a trois cents ans; on montre encore son appartement dans la partie de l'est.'"

It is to the Arabs that we owe the first distinct account of China, and of its peculiar institutions and customs. Their far extended conquests brought them to the confines of that remote empire; and the enlightenment of science and literature, which they possessed in no small degree during the eighth and ninth centuries, led many individuals among them to explore unknown countries, and to record what they had seen. We possess an interesting specimen in Renaudot's translation from the itineraries of two Arabian travellers, in the years 850 and 877. These bear internal evidences of truth and accuracy no less indisputable than those which distinguish the relations of the Venetian traveller Marco Polo; and as they have reference to a much earlier period than even his, must be considered to possess a very high degree of interest. We can perceive a remarkable identity between the Chinese, as they are therein described, and the same people as we know them at the present day, although a period of 1000 years, nearly, has since elapsed; nor can the occurrence of one or two very remarkable discrepancies be considered as any impugnement of the general veracity of these travellers, where there is, upon the whole, so much of sound and correct information. The contradictions have, in fact, evidently proceeded from some confusion in the original manuscripts, by which observations, that had reference to *their countries lying in their route*, and which are true *those countries at the present time*, have become

incorporated with the account of China itself. These Arabians describe a city called Canfu, which was probably Canton, at which place a very ancient mosque exists to this day. The frequency of fires, and the long detention of ships, from various causes, as stated by them, might be related of that emporium of foreign trade even at present. "This city," they observe, "stands on a great river, some days distant from the entrance, so that the water here is fresh." It seems at that time to have been the port allotted to the Arabian merchants who came by sea; and the travellers notice "many unjust dealings with the merchants who traded thither, which, having gathered the force of a precedent, there was no grievance, no treatment so bad, but they exercised it upon the foreigners, and the masters of ships." We learn that the port was at length forsaken, in consequence of the extortions of the *mandarins* of those days; and "the merchants returned in crowds to Siraf and Oman." It is remarkable that the travellers describe the entrance to the port of Canfu as the "gates of China," which may possibly be a translation of Hoo-mun, "Tiger's Gate," or *Boca Tigris*, as it is called from the Portuguese.

These Arabians mention in particular the relief afforded to the people from the public granaries during famine. The salt tax, as it now exists, and the use of tea, are thus noticed:—"The emperor also reserves to himself the revenues that arise from salt, and from a certain herb which they drink with hot water, and of which great quantities are sold in all the cities, to the amount of vast sums." The public imposts are stated to have consisted in duties on salt and tea, with a poll tax, which last has since been commuted into a tax on lands: these Arabians likewise mention the *bamboo* as the universal panacea in matters of police; and they very correctly describe the Chinese copper money; as well as porcelain; wine made from rice; the maintenance of public teachers in the towns; the idolatry derived from India; and the ignorance of astronomy, in which the Arabians



were their first instructors. It is, in fact, impossible to comprise within our limits all the pertinent remarks, or even a small proportion of the correct information which may be found in this curious and antique relic of early Arabian enterprise. From the lights which it affords, as well as from other sources of information relating to the first intercourse of the Mahomedans with China, it has with tolerable certainty been inferred that, previous to the Mongol Tartar conquest, they resorted to that rich country by sea chiefly, and in the character of traders.

Subsequent to the establishment of the Mongol Tartar dynasty by Zenghis Khan, China was visited by the Arab, Ibn Batuta, whose travels have been translated by Professor Lee. He describes very truly the paper circulation instituted by the Mongols, a scheme which subsequently failed, in consequence of the paper being rendered utterly worthless by excessive issues, and the bad faith of the government, which derived a profit from the circulation. Even at that period, Batuta observes that "they did not buy or sell with the dirhem or dinar, for, should any one get these coins into his possession, he would melt them down immediately." If we may believe him, the Chinese junks in his time sailed as far as Calicut, and he himself embarked in one of them on his voyage to China.

The Mahomedan creed seems to have been established and protected as the religion of a considerable part of the population soon after the Mongol conquest, in the thirteenth century; and it meets with perfect toleration at the present day, its professors being freely admitted to government offices, from which Christians are rigidly excluded. There is a considerable mosque at Canton, of great antiquity, and forming, with its pagoda or minaret, a conspicuous object on the approach to the city by the river. Numbers of that persuasion occurred in every part of the route of the two British missions. Some gentlemen of the embassy were walking, in 1816, with Dr.

Morrison, at a village about fifty miles from Peking, when they observed inscribed, in Chinese, on the lantern of a poor shopman, "An old Mahomedan." Being asked whence his progenitors came, the old man answered, "From the western ocean;" but he could give no further information, except that his family had resided there for five generations. Dr. Morrison met with another near Nanking, holding a government office, who said that his sect reached China during the T'ang dynasty, or about the period of the visit of those two Arabians, whom we have already noticed, in the ninth century. The same individual stated, that at Kae-foong-foo, in the province of Honan, there were some families of a persuasion denominated by the Chinese "the sect that plucks out the sinew:" these, in all probability, must be the Jews mentioned by Grosier, who are said to have reached China as early as 200 years before Christ, in the time of the Han dynasty.

In the eighteenth volume of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* there is contained an account of the pains taken by the Jesuits in China to investigate the origin of this remarkable colony of Jews at Kae-foong-foo. The most successful in his researches was Père Gozani, who, in a letter dated 1704, thus wrote:—"As regards those who are here called *Tiao-kin-kiao* (the sect that extracts the sinew), two years ago I was going to visit them, under the expectation that they were Jews, and with the hope of finding among them the Old Testament; but, as I have no knowledge of the Hebrew language, and met with great difficulties, I abandoned this scheme with the fear of not succeeding. Nevertheless, as you told me that I should oblige you by obtaining any information concerning this people, I have obeyed your directions, and executed them with all the care and exactness of which I was capable. I immediately made them protestations of friendship, to which they readily replied, and had the civility to *come to see me*. I returned their visit in

the *le-pai-sou*, that is in their synagogue, where they were all assembled, and where I held with them long conversations. I saw their inscriptions, some of which are in Chinese, and the rest in their own language. They showed me their religious books, and permitted me to enter even into the most secret place of their synagogue, whence they themselves (the commonalty) are excluded. There is a place reserved for the chief of the synagogue, who never enters there except with profound respect. They told me that their ancestors came from a kingdom of the west, called the kingdom of Judah, which Joshua conquered after having departed from Egypt, and passed the Red Sea and the Desert; that the number of Jews who migrated from Egypt was about 600,000 men. They assured me that their alphabet had twenty-seven letters, but that they commonly made use of only twenty-two; which accords with the declaration of St. Jerome, that the Hebrew has twenty-two letters, of which five are double. When they read the Bible in their synagogue they cover the face with a transparent veil, in memory of Moses, who descended from the mountain with his face covered, and who thus published the Decalogue and the Law of God to his people: they read a section every Sabbath-day. Thus the Jews of China, like the Jews of Europe, read all the Law in the course of the year: he who reads places the *Ta-king* (great sacred book) on the chair of Moses; he has his face covered with a very thin cotton veil; at his side is a prompter, and some paces below a Moula, to correct the prompter should he err. They spoke to me respecting Paradise and Hell in a very foolish way. There is every appearance of what they said being drawn from the Talmud. I spoke to them of the Messiah promised in Scripture, but they were very much surprised at what I said: and when I informed them that his name was *Jesus*, they replied, that mention was made in the *Bible* of a holy man named Jesus, who was the son of

Sirach: but they knew not the Jesus of whom I spoke."\*

The first Pope who appears to have sent a mission for the conversion of the Tartars or Chinese to the Roman Catholic faith was Innocent IV. He despatched Giovanni Carpini, a monk, through Russia, in the year 1246, to Baatu Khan, on the banks of the Volga, from whence they were conducted to the Mongol Tartar court, just as the great Khan was about to be installed. Carpini was astonished by the display of immense treasures; and, having been kindly treated, was sent back with a friendly letter: he was rather pleased than scandalised by the near resemblance of the rites of the Chinese Buddhists to the forms of Catholic worship, and inferred from thence that they either already were or would very soon be Christians. In 1253, Kubruquis was in like manner despatched by St. Louis, during his crusade to the Holy Land, with directions to procure the friendship of the Mongols. He reached at length the court of the Great Khan, where, like his predecessor, he observed the near resemblance of Lama worship to the forms of Roman Catholicism, and concluded that it must be derived from a spurious Christianity; perhaps that of the Nestorians.

It is needless in this place to enter into any detailed notice of the work of Marco Polo, which has been illustrated with so much erudition and industry by our countryman Marsden. The doubts which were once entertained of the veracity of Marco have long since given way to admiration of his simple and faithful narrative. Most of our readers will, perhaps, be aware that, in the reign of Coblai Khan, the Mongol conqueror of China, Nicholas and Matthew Paolo, or Polo, two noble Venetians, reached his court: they were extremely well received, and invited to return to China on their departure for Europe. In 1274

\* For further particulars of the Jews in China, see *Chinese Repository*, vol. iii. p. 172.

they accordingly came back, bearing letters from Pope Gregory X., and accompanied by young Marco, son to one of them. The youth, by his talents and good conduct, became a favourite with the Khan, and was employed by him for seventeen years: after which he, with some difficulty, obtained permission to return to his own country. The accounts which he gave of Venice of the vast wealth and resources of the Chinese empire appeared so incredible to Europeans in those days, that his tale was most undervalued & discredited, and he obtained the nick-name of "Messere Marco Millions." Another account of Cathay, or China, was some time after written by Marco, an Armenian, and translated into Latin. According to him, the Chinese considered the rest of the world as blind, or seeing with but one eye: while themselves alone were blessed with a perfect vision.

John de Corvara, despatched to Asia in 1296 by Pope Nicholas IV., was the first successful promoter of the Roman Catholic faith in China. He arrived at Canton in 1299, and was called by the Tartars, and not with a kind reception from the Emperor, notwithstanding the testimony of the famous Nestorian. He was a lover of public schools, instructed with a superior and bold mind, and saw a large number of some thousands of converts, as well as a large instructed number of children in the Latin language, and the laws of Christianity. The news of his progress reached "Cathay," and his accession to the throne, and he was immediately appointed Bishop of Cathay, with a numerous body of priests, who were despatched to visit him in his diocese. In the month of January, however, it is probable that his departure, promoted in the same enterprise and industry, was made to succeed him in the establishment which he had founded, and which he had found, at an early and magnificent.

His departure was followed by Chinese records

position once existed, in respect to foreign intercourse, than prevails at present. It was only on the conquest of the empire by the Manchows that the European trade was limited to Canton: and the jealous and watchful Tartar dominion, established by this handful of barbarians, has unquestionably occasioned many additional obstacles to an increased commerce with the rest of the world. We have already noticed the Chinese junks, which were seen by Ion Batuta as far west as the coast of Malabar, about the end of the thirteenth century. Even before the seventh century it appears from native records that missions were sent from China to the surrounding nations, with a view to inviting mutual intercourse. The benefits of peace and trade have always been extolled by the people of that country: the contempt, therefore, with which the present Tartar government affects to treat European commerce must be referred entirely to the fears which it entertains regarding the influence of increased knowledge on the stability of its dominion.

According to the Chinese books, commerce at its first establishment at Canton, remained unimportant for many years, but its increasing importance led the officers of government to consider it a source of gain. As in Siam and Cochinchina at present, the pre-emption of all imported goods was at one time to have been claimed: but this policy was long, and the trade, after having suffered a considerable increase at Canton, was subsequently opened to all ports of the empire. The extensive exportation of silver appears to have been very early established; but the importation of this subject, as might be expected, has been almost as futile as they are at the present time.

It was not many years after the discovery of the Cape by De Gama that the first European vessel made their first appearance at Canton. The trade, however, was not calculated to improve the general *l'opinion* favourable idea of Europe.

of time, they came to be competitors with the Dutch and the English, the contests of mercantile avarice tended to place them all in a still worse point of view. To this day the character of Europeans is represented as that of a race of men intent alone on the gains of commercial traffic, and regardless altogether of the means of attainment. Struck by the perpetual hostilities which existed among these foreign adventurers, assimilated in other respects by a close resemblance in their costumes and manners, the government of the country became disposed to treat them with a degree of jealousy and exclusion which it had not deemed necessary to be exercised towards the more peaceable and well-ordered Arabs, their predecessors.

The first places of resort to the Portuguese were the islands at the mouth of the Canton river.\* The vessel despatched by Alfonso Albuquerque, the Captain-general of Malacca, reached one of these, under the command of Perestrello; and, as his voyage proved very successful, it had the effect of engaging others in similar enterprises. Being distinguished as the first person who ever conducted a ship to China under a European flag, he was followed in the ensuing year by a fleet of eight vessels, under the command of Perez de Andrade, who, on reaching the coast, was surrounded by junks of war, and his movements watched with suspicion. He was, however, permitted to proceed with two of his vessels to Canton; and, while successfully negotiating for a trade, received accounts that the remainder of his fleet had been attacked by pirates. Some of his vessels returned with cargoes to Malacca; the remainder sailed in company with some junks, belonging to the Loo-choo Islands, for the province of Fokien on the east coast, and succeeded in establishing a colony at Ningpo. The Portuguese sub-

\* We here quote, for convenience, from a small work printed at Macao in 1831, but never regularly published, called '*The Canton Miscellany*.'

sequently brought their families to that port, carrying on a gainful trade with other parts of China, as well as with Japan. But in the year 1545 the provincial government, provoked by their ill conduct, expelled them the place; and thus was for ever lost to them an establishment on the continent of China, in one of the provinces of the empire best adapted to the ends of European trade. The general behaviour of the Portuguese had, from the first, been calculated to obliterate the favourable impression which the Chinese had received from the justice and moderation of Perez de Andrade. Only shortly after his visit, a squadron, under the orders of his brother Simon, was engaged in open hostilities, having established a colony at *San-shan*, near Macao (vulgarly called St. John's), and erected a fort there: they were finally defeated by a Chinese naval force, but continued to commit acts of piracy on the native trading vessels. Subsequently to this career of violence, and during the more recent periods of their connexion with China at Macao, the Portuguese appear, on the other hand, to have entertained too extreme an apprehension of giving umbrage to the native government; and while they imagined they were securing favour to themselves, their conduct has often served to encourage Chinese encroachment.

Among the early and desperate adventurers from Portugal, the exploits of Ferdinand Mendes Pinto have, by the help of some exaggeration, handed his name down as one of the principal. Having arrived with a crew of other desperadoes at Ningpo, he learned from some Chinese that to the north-east there was an island containing the tombs of seventeen Chinese kings, full of treasure. Pinto and his companions succeeded in finding the place, and plundered the tombs, in which they found a quantity of silver: being attacked, they were obliged to retire with only part of the booty; and a gale having overtaken them upon their return, in the neighbourhood of Nanking, only fourteen Portuguese escaped with their lives: these were taken



by the Chinese, and after some maltreatment were sent to Nanking and condemned to be whipped, and to lose each man a thumb. They were next conducted to Peking, and on his way thither Pinto had occasion to admire the manners of the Chinese, their love of justice, and the good order and industry that prevailed among them. Arrived at Peking, they were at length condemned to one year's hard labour: but before the time expired they were set at liberty by the Tartars who were then invading the country. Pinto and his companions now joined their liberators, and, while in their service, saw one of the chief Lamas, whom he called their pope. A curious description of this Tartar hierarchy has in later times been given by Père Gaubil. The Portuguese adventurers at length quitted the Tartars, found their way to the coast, and embarked again for Ningpo. Being treacherously abandoned on a desolate island, where they had almost died of hunger, Pinto and his companion were taken off by a pirate, and soon afterwards driven by adverse winds on the coast of Japan. On his return to Ningpo, this adventurer gave his countrymen so favourable an account of what he had seen that a large expedition was fitted out for Japan: several, however, of the vessels were lost, and Pinto himself driven on the Loo-choo Islands, where he and his companions were taxed with the murder of some natives of Loo-choo, at the time when Malacca was taken by the Portuguese. The king being told that all his countrymen were pirates, gave orders that Pinto and the rest should be quartered, and their limbs exposed: they were saved, however, by the interposition of some native women, and Pinto at length returned to Malacca. He afterwards engaged in a mission to Japan. It was about the same time, in 1552, that the famous apostle of the East, St. Francis Xavier, concerning whom so many miracles have been related died at San-shan, or St. John's. The remains of his tomb are seen there at this day; and the Bishop of Macao used to make an annual visit there, for the

purpose of celebrating mass, and bringing away a portion of the consecrated earth.

The first Portuguese embassy, and of course the first from any European power by sea, to Peking took place as early as 1520, in the person of Thomas Pirez, the object being to establish a factory at Canton, as well as at Macao. Advices, however, had preceded him of the ill conduct and violence of Simon de Andrade; and, after a course of humiliation, the unfortunate Pirez was sent back under custody to Canton, the provincial government of which place thus early showed its jealousy of any attempt on the part of strangers to communicate with the court. Pirez, on his arrival, was robbed of his property, thrown into prison, and ultimately, it is supposed, put to death. The various embassies, which have since followed in three successive centuries, to Peking have met with different kinds of treatment; but, in whatever spirit conducted, they have been equally unsuccessful in the attainment of any important points of negotiation.

In the following year Alfonso de Melo arrived in China, ignorant of the events which had taken place, and having altogether six vessels under his command. "These," a Portuguese writer observes, "were sent on shore for water, but returned with blood." They became immediately involved in conflicts with the Chinese, who put to death upwards of twenty prisoners that fell into their hands; and the squadron shortly afterwards sailed away from China.

We have seen already that previous to the arrival of Europeans on its shores the government of the country had given every encouragement to foreign commerce; and that, at a very early period, Chinese junks had proceeded to the coasts of the peninsula of India. Statistical records exist to the present day, having reference to foreign intercourse, which display a perfect knowledge of the advantages of trade, and form a striking contrast to the indifference which the present Tartar government affects to feel towards it. *Subsequent to a temporary prohibition of foreign*

trade, a certain Fooyuen of Canton thus addressed the Emperor :—" A great part of the necessary expenses of both the government and the people at Canton is supplied by the customs levied on merchants ; and if foreign ships do not come, both public and private concerns are thrown into much embarrassment and distress. It is entreated, therefore, that the Franks be permitted to trade. Three or four advantages result therefrom. In the first place, besides the regular tribute of the several foreign states, a small percentage has been taken from the remainder, adequate to the supply of the provincial expenditure. Secondly, the treasury appropriated for the annual supply of the army in Canton and Quong-sy is entirely drained, and our dependence is on trade to provide against exigencies. Thirdly, the contiguous province has looked to Canton for supplies, being unable to comply with any demands made on it ; but when foreign ships have free intercourse, then high and low are all mutually supplied. Fourthly, the people live by commerce. A man holding a quantity of goods sells them, and procures what himself requires : thus things pass from hand to hand, and, in their course, supply men with food and raiment. The government is thereby assisted, the people enriched, and both have means afforded them on which they may depend." Admissions of a similar nature, of a very late date, contained in addresses from the provincial government to Peking, have proved that the Chinese authorities are by no means unmindful of the revenues derived from the European trade.

It was about the middle of the sixteenth century that the Portuguese established themselves at Macao, the only European colony that, with very limited success, has been planted on the coast of China ; it seems that they had temporary shelter on shore as early as 1537. By bribery and solicitation, leave was obtained for erecting sheds to dry goods, which were introduced under the name of tribute. The foreigners *were by degrees* permitted to build substantial houses,

and the petty mandarins connived at an increasing population, the establishment of an internal government, and the influx of priests, with their endeavours to convert the Chinese.\* The story of important services rendered against pirates, and an imperial edict, transferring the dominion of Macao to the Portuguese, seems unfounded. Indeed, a bishop of Macao wrote, in 1777, that it was "by paying a ground-rent that the Portuguese acquired the temporary use and profit of Macao *ad nutum* of the Emperor." This ground-rent, amounting to 500 taëls per annum, is regularly paid to the present day; and Chinese mandarins periodically inspect the Portuguese forts, as well as levy duties on the Macao shipping. Nothing, therefore, can be farther from the truth, than that the Portuguese possess the sovereignty of that place. In 1573 the Chinese erected a barrier-wall across the isthmus which separates Macao from the island of Heang-shan. A civil mandarin was very early appointed to reside within the town, and govern it in the name of the Emperor of China: this officer, called a Tso-tâng, keeps a watchful eye on the inhabitants, and communicates information to his superiors. The Portuguese are not allowed to build new churches or houses without a licence. The only privilege they possess is that of governing themselves; while the Chinese population of the town is entirely under the control of the mandarins. The Spaniards, indiscriminately with the Portuguese, have the right of trading to Macao; but the number of shipping was, in 1725, by an order from the Emperor, restricted to twenty-five, and it is actually not much more than half that number. The last Emperor of the *last Chinese* dynasty sent to Macao for some guns, and a small military force, against the Manchow Tartars; but, in 1651, the inhabitants of

\* A small compilation of ancient records concerning Macao was printed, by a Swedish gentleman, long resident there, in 1832, and from him we derive our notes.

that colony were enrolled as the subjects of the present Ta-tsing family. In 1609, when the Ladrões, or native pirates, had become formidable to the Chinese government, Macao furnished by agreement six vessels to serve against them, at a charge of 80,000 taëls to the provincial government. The pirates were induced by other means than those of force to dissolve their confederation; and the Portuguese, although they claimed certain privileges for their services, were obliged to remain content with their former condition.

The advantages which Macao possesses over Canton, in respect to the Chinese duties, which are considerably less at the former place than at the latter, might perhaps be made available to a certain extent by British traders. The capital and enterprise of the Portuguese inhabitants are not sufficient to employ the few ships which they actually possess. Several of the vessels are freighted in part by Chinese for the Malay peninsula and islands. Although the freight is much higher than in junks, the property on board is considered so much safer—and the Chinese do not practise insurance. They frequently send adventures, too, on board English country ships, or those pertaining to the Indian trade; for there is a duty amounting to 10 per cent. additional charged on Portuguese ships at our eastern presidencies. The trade of Macao is altogether in a very depressed state, and the whole income from customs, which amounted in 1830 to scarcely 70,000 taëls, is insufficient to meet the expenditure. The entire Portuguese population, including slaves, is not above 5000; while the Chinese of Macao are calculated to exceed 30,000.

It seems needless to notice the several fruitless embassies which the Portuguese, since their earlier resort to China, have sent to Peking, and the last of which occurred in 1753: they exhibit the usual spectacle of arrogance on the one side, and profitless submission on the other. It will be more interesting to *take a short view of the Catholic missions, which at*

first promised to make rapid and extensive progress, but were ultimately defeated by the dissensions among the several orders of priests, and the indiscreet zeal which some of them displayed against the ancient institutions of the Chinese. In 1579, Miguel Ruggiero, an Italian Jesuit, reached Canton, and in a few years was joined by Matthew Ricci, who may justly be considered as the founder of the Catholic mission. The literati of the country praised such of the precepts of Christianity as coincided with those of Confucius; but they found a stumbling-block in the doctrines of original sin, of eternal torments, of the Incarnation, of the Trinity, and of not being allowed concubines as well as a wife. No difficulties, however, could dishearten Ricci, who, by his intimate knowledge of the mathematical and experimental sciences, had the means of making friends and converts. He soon abandoned the garb of a bonze, which he at first injudiciously assumed, and put on that of the literati. With great good sense he saw the folly of attempting at once to contend with those prejudices of the Chinese which were blended with such of their institutions as they considered most sacred, and which in fact formed the very foundations of their social system. Montesquieu has justly argued, from the peculiar character of the Chinese customs, against the facility of introducing material changes in them; and especially of substituting the Roman Catholic observances. The assembling of women in churches, their private communication with priests, the prohibition of offerings at the tombs of parents, were all abominations in their eyes which could never be endured. Ricci, for such reasons, made a distinction between *civil* and *sacred* rites, admitting the former in his converts, and particularly the ceremonies at tombs; and his success accordingly was considerable.

When he had passed about seventeen years in the country, Ricci proceeded to Peking, and, by the favour of one of the eunuchs of the palace, became in-

troduced to the Emperor's notice, his presents being received, and a place appointed for his residence. Other Jesuits joined the mission, and established themselves at different points from Canton to Peking, proceeding quietly, and with great success, as long as they could remain unmolested by the hot and indiscreet zeal of the several orders of monks, who, in their haste to attack the Chinese prejudices, ensured their own discomfiture. The most distinguished of the Jesuits, for his talents and knowledge, was Father Adam Schaal, by birth a German; he reached Peking at the time when the last Chinese dynasty of Ming was about to be expelled by the Manchow Tartars. Through the influence of a Chinese Christian, named *Paul Siu*, who was a Colao, or principal minister, and by his own extensive knowledge of the physical sciences, Schaal became a great favourite at court, and even retained his place after the Tartars had possessed themselves of the empire. The first Manchow emperor, Shun-chy, to whom he easily proved the ignorance of the Arabian mathematicians, made him president of the Astronomical Board; and his own merits were a sufficient explanation of his success, without any need of the lying *miracles* with which *Père du Halde* has not blushed to disfigure his work. According to him, Adam Schaal being condemned to death soon after the Tartar conquest, "this sentence was carried to the princes of the blood and to the regent for confirmation; but, as often as they attempted to read it, a dreadful earthquake dispersed the assembly. The consternation was so great, that they granted a general pardon; all the prisoners were released except Father Adam, and he did not get his liberty until a month afterwards, when the royal palace was consumed by the flames."

Permission was given to the Jesuits to build two churches at Peking, and new labourers were allowed to enter the country: among these, Ferdinand Verbiest, another German Jesuit, and a man of distinguished science, became the coadjutor of Adam

Schaal. On the accession of Kanghy, then a boy of eight or nine years of age, under the tutorship of four Tartars, the disputes which ensued with the intolerant Dominicans produced an unfavourable impression on the minds of the rulers of China. Accusations were preferred against the missionaries, and their zeal to make converts was condemned as dangerous. It is said that Schaal died of chagrin, and that Verbiest was compelled for some time to abscond. When Kanghy, however, a monarch of enlarged and liberal mind, came to exercise the government in his own person, Verbiest was made president of the astronomers; and through his influence the expelled missionaries were allowed to return to their churches. By the aid of Verbiest the emperor was enabled to cast guns, and to compose a mathematical work with tables of logarithms. During this reign, although the emperor was never himself a convert, the state of Christianity in China was vastly more flourishing than it is at present, after the lapse of a century and a half: it was placed by Kanghy on the same footing of toleration with Mahomedanism and Budhism. In the itineraries of Le Compte, and other Jesuits, churches with European priests are mentioned at almost every principal city. At Foshan, about four leagues above Canton, Père Bouvet speaks of a Milanese Jesuit as presiding over a church with a flock of 10,000 persons: at this day there is probably not one single individual at that same place.

The decree of Kanghy in 1692, permitting the exercise of Christianity, was abrogated by his successor Yoong-ching, who expelled the missionaries from the provinces. These spiritual delegates, meanwhile, had been in constant collision with the native authorities throughout the empire, and perpetually at strife among themselves; and the jurisdiction of the field which they occupied became also a subject of discussion between the *kings of Portugal* and the *popes*. *In consequence of the disputes which had arisen, from a very early period, among the Jesuits and the other*



islands in the vicinity; and the large and fertile country of Formosa, now inhabited by numerous Chinese, became the object of his hopes. The Dutch were aware that the secret agents of Koshinga held a correspondence with the resident Chinese, and, foreseeing the danger, increased the garrison of Fort Zealand in 1650. They still remained unmolested for a time, until the exiled leader, being defeated before Nanking, had no refuge left for himself and his numerous followers except Formosa. On the application of Coyet, governor of the settlement, twelve ships were despatched from Batavia in 1660, with orders that, if the alarm at Formosa proved groundless, the fleet should proceed against Macao. The garrison now consisted of 1500 men, and the Dutch demanded of Koshinga whether he was for peace or war. In his reply, by letter, he affected the most friendly disposition towards the settlement, and, still farther to lull the Hollanders into security, sent several merchant-vessels to Formosa. The governor's suspicions were not removed, as Koshinga still continued his preparations at Amoy; but the majority of the council being of opinion that there was no present danger, all the ships were ordered away to their respective destinations. The admiral, on his return to Batavia, accused the governor of unreasonable apprehensions; and the council, wearied with the expense, and with what they considered as the groundless fears of the governor, suspended him from office, and ordered him to Batavia to defend himself. His successor, M. Clenk, sailed for Formosa in June, 1661.

Meanwhile, the events which were taking place on the island justified all the anticipations which had been thus contemned. Soon after the departure of the Dutch fleet from Fort Zealand, Koshinga and his forces were in motion: he embarked upwards of 20,000 of his best troops, and appeared before the settlement, where, assisted by thousands of his countrymen on shore, he soon began to land. Having occupied with his forces a point which would cut off

harbour, on the south-west side of the island, named Fort Zealand, and measures were taken to civilise and reclaim the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. In the meanwhile Peking fell a prey to the Manchow Tartars in 1644, and all the northern provinces, with most of the southern, acknowledged in a short time the foreign dominion. Many thousands of Chinese families emigrated from their country in the course of the struggle, and no less than 25,000 are said to have transported themselves to Formosa. This emigration tended greatly to the improvement of that new country, and was at first encouraged by the Dutch: but their fears were alarmed by the increasing numbers when they could no longer prevent them; and the influx of Chinese was a principal cause of the final expulsion of the Dutch from that settlement. This forms an episode in the history of European intercourse with China, deserving of some particular notice; and we shall give the account nearly as it stands abridged from Nieuhoff, in the second volume of the Chinese Repository.\*

A Chinese, for some time servant to the Portuguese at Macao, and who had been baptized by the name of Nicholas, grew by foreign trade to be the richest merchant in the country; and when the Manchows invaded the empire, he equipped, at his own expense, a small fleet against the Tartars. His success attracted a vast number of vessels, until he at length became commander of a very formidable fleet. After several battles, he was invited by the Tartar chief to Peking, with the offer of a high title, which he accepted, leaving the command of his fleet to his son *Kuo-shing*, called, in Portuguese orthography, Koshinga. The father was not permitted to return, but the son continued faithful to the Chinese cause, and opposed the enemies of his country. In the course of three or four years, however, the Tartars, by force or bribery, contrived to drive him from the coast to the numerous

Vladislavitch to China, as ambassador-extraordinary, and by him a treaty was concluded, by which the Russians were to have a church at Peking, with an establishment of priests; and four young Russians were to remain at the residence of the embassy, for the purpose of studying the language, and serving as interpreters between the two nations. The Russian mission now consists of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, who study the Manchow and Chinese languages. Their abode at Peking extends to a period of about ten years, at the end of which they are relieved by others from St. Petersburg.

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## CHAPTER II.

## ENGLISH INTERCOURSE.

WE now proceed to give a sketch of the early intercourse between Great Britain and China, the first attempt to establish which seems to have been as far back as 1596, when three ships were fitted out in charge of Benjamin Wood, bearing letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor; but the ships were lost on their way out, and no renewal of the project appears to have taken place. The oldest record of the Company at Canton is dated April 6th, 1637, and commences thus:—"In the latitude of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, we took leave of the ship *Planter*, whom God, we hope, hath conducted in safety. Upon her was laden as per invoice appeareth," &c. This was one of a fleet of five ships, of which the remaining four, the *Dragon*, *Sun*, *Catherine*, and *Ann*, proceeded on their way to China, under the command of Captain Weddel. They first arrived at Acheen in Sumatra. "At our reaching this (it is said) we found no Christians in the whole town, but there were three Dutchmen. Their capital was small, as likewise their wit and manners, being fellows of former slender employment, and sent hither rather to oppose any of our nation that should arrive in outfacing, outvying, and outlying them, than for any real intent or desire of trade."\* The fleet

\* This rancour against the Dutch was the consequence of the mutual jealousies which existed between the rival traders of the two countries at that time in the East. A treaty concluded with Holland, called the *treaty of defence*, in 1615, had no effect ultimately in producing harmony; and the dreadful *massacre of Amboyna*, in 1623, at length became the crowning act of cruelty and perfidy on the part of the Hollanders.

proceeded on its way to China, and arrived off Macao on the 28th of May. Here the Portuguese did all in their power to misrepresent them to the Chinese, and prevent the chance of a trade. After several fruitless attempts to establish a peaceful arrangement, and some vain endeavours to depute persons from the fleet to open a negotiation at Canton, it was resolved that all the ships should sail up the river. They arrived in a few days at the river's mouth, at present called the Bogue, in the neighbourhood of the forts; "and being now furnished with some slender interpreters, they soon had speech with divers mandarins in the king's jounkes, to whom the cause of their arrival was declared, viz., to entertain peace and amity with them, to traffic freely as the Portugalls did, and to be forthwith supplied, for their moneys, with provisions for their ships: all which those mandarins promised to solicit with the prime men resident at Canton; and in the mean time desired an expectation of six days, which were granted; and the English ships rode with white ensigns on the poop; but their perfidious friends the Portugalls had in all that time, since the return of the pinnace, so beslandered them to the Chinese, reporting them to be rogues, thieves, beggars, and what not, that they became very jealous of the good meaning of the English; insomuch that, in the night-time, they put forty-six of iron cast ordnance into the fort lying close to the brink of the river, each piece between six and seven hundred weight, and well proportioned; and after the end of four days, having, as they thought, sufficiently fortified themselves, they discharged divers shot, though without hurt, upon one of the barges passing by them to find a convenient watering-place. Herewith the whole fleet being instantly incensed, did, on the sudden, display their bloody ensigns; and, weighing their anchors, fell up with the flood, and berthed themselves before the castle, from whence came many shot, yet not any that touched so much as hull or rope; whereupon not being able to endure their bravadoes

any longer, each ship began to play furiously upon them with their broadsides; and, after two or three hours, perceiving their cowardly fainting, the boats were landed with about one hundred men; which sight occasioned them, with great distractions, instantly to abandon the castle and fly; the boats' crews, in the mean time, without let entering the same, and displaying his Majesty's colours of Great Britain upon the walls, having the same night put aboard all their ordnance, fired the Council-house, and demolished what they could. The boats of the fleet also seized a jounke, laden with boards and timber, and another with salt. Another vessel of small moment was surprised, by whose boat a letter was sent to the chief mandarins at Canton, expostulating their breach of truce, excusing the assailing of the castle, and withal on fair terms requiring the liberty of trade. This letter it seems was delivered; for, the next day, a mandarin of no great note, some time a Portugal Christian, called Paulo Noretty, came towards the ships in a small boat with a white flag, to whom the English, having laid open the injuries received, and the sincere intent they had to establish fair trade and commerce, and were no way willing (but in their own defence) to oppose the China nation, presented certain gifts and dismissed him to his masters, who were some of the chief mandarins, riding about a point of land not far from the ships; who, being by him duly informed thereof, returned him again the same night with a small jounke, and full authority to carry up such as should be appointed to Canton, there to tender a petition, and to conclude further upon the manner of their future proceedings." The result was, that the blame of the late skirmish was laid by the mandarins on the slanders of the Portuguese, and the captured guns being restored, the ships were supplied with cargoes.

No further trade, however, ensued for many years. Soon after this period the interior of China was distracted by the contests between the Manchow Tartars

and Chinese, while the coasts were overrun by fleets of pirates, under the leaders whom we had already had occasion to notice. Another attempt made by the English in 1664 to establish a commercial intercourse with Canton. The Company's agent landed at Macao, and obtained a lodging there, the view of prosecuting a negotiation with the Chinese, these, however, demanded 2000 taëls on each ship as a port-charge, and when 1000 were offered, they rejected the proposal. At length a guard of Chinese was placed over the English, and they were obliged to abandon the attempt and return to Bantam; the being every reason to suppose that the Portuguese, usual, were instrumental to their failure. In 1665 peace with the Dutch encouraged the Company to look towards China, and accordingly application made to Sir Robert Southwell, ambassador in Portugal, to obtain good treatment for our ships should they be obliged to touch at Goa or Macao. In the same year the Company's servants at Bantam observed in a despatch to the court, "Hockchue\* will be a place of great resort, affording all China commodities, as betanag, silk, raw and wrought, gold, China root, &c., for which must be carried broad cloth, lead, iron, pepper, coral, sandal-wood, red-wood, incense, cacha (cassia), putchuk, &c." These, all of the form articles of trade at present with either England or India.

The records then show that, in 1670, a trade was established at Taywan, or Formosa, with the chief of the island, who, as we have before seen, had expelled the Dutch from that island in 1662. It is possible that, knowing the rivalry and animosity which existed between the Dutch and English, he encouraged the latter to come, as a counterpoise in his own favour should the Dutch attempt to repossess themselves

\* The provincial pronunciation for Fokchow Foo (which possesses great advantages for European trade) in Fok province.

Formosa. A treaty was entered into, called "The contract made with the King of Taywan for the setting of a factory," in which the Company stipulate that we may sell or truck our goods with whom we please, and likewise all persons may have the same free trade with us ; that, for all injuries or wrongs that shall be done us by the people here, the king shall redress us ; and, on the other hand, that what injuries or wrongs the English shall do, application being made to the chief, satisfaction shall be made them ; that upon all occasions we may have access to the king's person ; that we may have the choosing of our own interpreters and escrivans, and no soldiers to be sent upon us, and also to be free to walk without attendants along with us ; that what goods the king imports shall pay no custom ; that rice imported pay no custom ; that all goods imported pay three per cent. for sale, and all goods exported be custom free." It is provided, however, that all ships should deliver up their guns and ammunition while in port. It seems that this trade at length proved so unprofitable and vexatious that the Company, in 1681, ordered their establishments at Formosa and Amoy to be withdrawn, and a trade, if possible, established at Canton and Cockchew, or Fokchow. In 1683, Formosa, as already noticed, was surrendered to the Tartars, and in a curious despatch to the Company, dated the 20th December in that year, it is observed that, "the inhabitants were ordered, in the name of the great Cham of Tartary, to shave all their hairs off, save enough to make a monkey's tail, pendent from the very noddle of their heads, and betake themselves to his country's habit." The Tartars, from the very first conquest of China, have shown a great disinclination to foreign trade, which may have arisen partly from their having a less esteem for it than the native rulers of the country, and partly from a fear of some collusion taking place between Europeans and their Chinese subjects. It is, in fact, since the Tartar conquest that the English have been excluded from Ningpo and



Amoy, having traded at the latter place while it remained independent of the Manchows, and some time after the rest of China had submitted to them.

The ship *Delight* was sent in 1685 to attempt the re-establishment of a trade at Amoy; and, about the same time, active exertions were made by the Company towards securing a regular commerce at Canton. In the progress of all these trials one of the most striking circumstances is the stupid pertinacity with which the Portuguese of Macao excluded English ships from that port; and the perfidy with which they misrepresented their supposed rivals to the Chinese, with a view to prevent their getting a footing at Canton. In the course of time they have been unable to exclude us altogether even from Macao; but their systematic policy has been to attribute motives to the English which should injure them with the provincial government; and this was strikingly exemplified during the expedition under Admiral Drury, in 1803.

Soon after the Tartar conquest we find it stated by the mandarins, in reply to certain inquiries on the subject, that "a present to the emperor of *strange fowls and beasts* would be more acceptable than a ship's lading of gold." There can be no doubt that gifts of this kind are extremely well suited to Peking; and, on the occasion of any future mission, it would be well to keep the advice in view, instead of confining the selection of presents *entirely* to works of art; as they were, in our past embassies, most of them unintelligible and useless to the emperor and his court. The troubles of the trade at Canton appear to have commenced very early. The Hoppo, or chief commissioner of customs, in 1699, demanded 2484 taëls for the measurage (or port-charge) of the ship *Defence*, but, on finding that it would not be paid, he took 1500 taëls. In the meanwhile, one of the crew of the *Defence* had killed a Chinese, and a tumult ensued, in which several of the seamen and the surgeon of the ship lost their lives. Not satisfied with this,

the mandarins declared that unless 5000 taëls were paid, the *Defence* would not be allowed to sail; but when they had refused 2000, the captain quitted Canton, and took his vessel out of the river. The present charges on a ship of about 800 tons in the port of Whampoa are very little short of 5000 dollars, or above 1000*l*.

It appears from a letter of the Court of Directors to the factory in China, dated 23rd November, 1699, that a Consul's commission was sent out to the chief of the Company's council; nor does any notice appear on the records of this having been subsequently recalled. They say, "we have obtained a commission from his Majesty to constitute you, and those who shall be hereafter appointed by us, as our President in China, to be the King's Minister or Consul for the English nation, with all powers requisite thereunto." The Court of Directors appear to have been unaware of this when, in 1832, they denied that their President was any other than a Company's representative; indeed, it was very correctly observed in Parliament with reference to this proceeding of the Court, that he complete powers with which the Legislature had vested the Chief in China over all British subjects seemed alone to give him a national character.

From the beginning of the century until 1727, many very severe grievances were suffered at Canton, and although the trade continued to proceed, it was with frequent interruptions. In that year we find that an exemption was demanded by the English from various extortions; among others a total charge of 16 per cent. on the trade; heavy taxes on the compradors or surveyors for supplying the ships; and what was called the *present* of 1950 taëls, in addition to the measurage or port fee. For some time the local government had attempted to invest a single individual, called "the Emperor's merchant," with the exclusive right of conducting the European commerce. This "monster in trade," however (as he is very properly termed on the records), was soon obliged to allow

others to participate. The Hong merchants then endeavoured to establish a *hong*, or united firm, among themselves. The supercargoes upon this declined trading until the combination was dissolved, and a representation to the Viceroy was at length successful in removing it. On their declaring, moreover, that they should be obliged to proceed to Amoy, or some other port, unless the heavy charges on their trade were remitted, the Hoppo promised them redress. Notwithstanding this, in the following year of 1728, an additional duty of 10 per cent. was laid on all exports to Europe, and the remonstrances of the English merchants proved unavailing.

From what appears to have transpired relative to this 10 per cent. duty, it seems clear that raw produce has, from the very first, found a better market at Canton than manufactures. It is observed on the records, "a duty of 10 per cent. hath really been paid by the merchants to the Hoppo on all goods sold to the *Europe* ships for some years past, though, at the same time, the *country*\* ships remain free. At length one of the merchants gave this reason, which they hold as a very just one, that the Hoppo, for several years past, observing that a considerable duty arose to the emperor upon goods imported by the country ships (the raw produce of India and the Straits), and that the Europe ships brought few or none, he fixed that rate upon the merchants for all goods sold by them to the Europe ships." The great industry and ingenuity of the Chinese causes them to turn nearly all raw produce to good account; while the peculiarities of their national customs and tastes, added to the obstacles of both law and prejudice against European productions of art, render these far less acceptable in general.

In 1734 only one ship, the *Harrison*, was sent to Canton, simply on account of the high duties and extortions. An attempt, however, was made at Amoy,

\* These from India.

*Grafton.* The history of the negotiations affords a notable specimen of Chinese faithlessness. After spending months in endeavour to obtain reasonable terms from them, they were compelled at length to take passage for Canton, principally because they got liberty to trade with any persons but were leagued with the mandarins, one of whom was always stationed over them in the house appointed on shore. In addition to the regular duties which were very high, there was an extra 20 per cent. for the Hoppo. "The ignorance of the Amoy merchants (it is observed), and the mismanagement they gave us, makes us almost unable to do any business at that place." In the ship *Normanton* proceeded to Ningpo, and efforts were made to open a trade there, but by the oppressions they had suffered from the neighbouring island of Chusan; but the mandarins very imperious and obstinate, insisted on a necessary preliminary, on the surrender of arms and ammunition. There moreover appeared no inducements to trade; for the record books seem rather to have been, than to be, a great commerce." It is probable that this part of China, had suffered by the Tartar. After wasting nearly two months in fruitless attempts to procure a fair trade, the *Normanton* returned to Canton: on arriving there it was found that the Governor Kien-loong, who had just succeeded to the office, had remitted the duty of 10 per cent., as it was present of 1510 taëls, leaving that portion of the charges only which is called the *measures*. When the edict ordering this remission was read in the Imperial Hall of Audience, the Hong Kong informed the different European traders

*standing this, the provincial government contrived to keep the duty present to its full amount until 1829, when a remission was made in it.*

“that they must prostrate themselves, kneeling on both their knees.” “Suspecting that the merchants endeavoured to make us believe this, in order that by our compliance we might be brought down to the same servile level with themselves; considering, also, that the posture insisted on is such a mark of abject submission as we never pay to our own sovereigns in Europe, we unanimously agreed that we should dishonour ourselves and our countries in complying with it. Being apprehensive that they (the Hong merchants) might succeed in their design of weakening us, by creating in us mutual suspicions and jealousies, we met in a body, and, by unanimous agreement, gave our solemn words of honour that none of us would submit to the slavish posture required, nor make any concession or proposal of accommodation separately, without first acquainting all the rest.” It was fortunate for them that they never prostrated themselves, for more substantial concessions would very soon have been demanded, had they gone through this form of allegiance and fealty. It seems that in that year (a century since) the total number of European ships at Canton was ten, viz., four English, two French, two Dutch, one Dane, and one Swede.

At the close of 1741 his Majesty's ship *Centurion*, under the command of Commodore Anson, arrived off Macao, in the prosecution of her voyage round the world, being the first British man-of-war that visited China. The interesting details of that ship's stay are well given in the popular history of the voyage, and familiar to most readers. After being hove down and repaired, the *Centurion* put to sea, and succeeded in capturing the *Acapulco* ship, with its valuable freight of treasure, with which she proceeded again to the Canton river, being in want of provisions. The Commodore on his arrival was subjected, as usual, to numberless vexatious delays; and the following passages occur on the manuscript proceedings:—“A new difficulty was now started, that Mr. Anson, being

lodged at Mr. Townsend's, must first go to Macao; for, if he remained in the house after Mr. Townsend left it, the Hong merchants said they should of course become security for him to the mandarins; and should Mr. Anson take a Spanish ship near Macao, on the coast, they would then be made answerable for the damages, and perhaps lose their heads. Mr. Anson declared he did not want any person to be security for him, but told them that unless he got some provisions he would not stir out of Canton, for he had not five days' bread on board his ship. . . We assembled the merchants the third time, to persuade them, if possible, to prevail with the mandarins to grant Mr. Anson a general chop for all the necessaries he wants. They informed us, the mandarins had such a strange notion of a ship which went about the world *seeking other ships in order to take them*, that they could not be brought to hear reason on that head." At length the merchants became so uneasy at the Commodore's stay in Canton, that they suffered a purveyor to ship the provisions without the inspection of the custom-house.

The loss of the *Acapulco* ship led the Spaniards, in 1744, to fit out several vessels for the annoyance of our China trade; and when the *Hardwicke* East India ship arrived off the coast, a note was delivered, by means of a Chinese boat, to say that three Spanish ships were lying off Macao to intercept her: the *Hardwicke* accordingly sailed away for Amoy. There, however, the mandarins insisted on the ship's proceeding into the inner harbour without any previous conditions, as well as delivering up all arms and ammunition. The merchants showed no disposition to trade, and, in fact, there seemed little to trade with. Accordingly, after fifteen days of ineffectual trial, the ship was compelled to proceed to India against the monsoon, without a single article of cargo! Nor was the condition of the trade much better at Canton. *The extortions increased in spite of all attempts at representation on the part of the supercargoes.* The

Hong merchants used every endeavour and at length succeeded in preventing the access of Europeans to the officers of government, finding that by that means they could exercise their impositions on both with the greater success and impunity. To the foreigners, the alleged that the mandarins were the authors of all the exactions on the trade; to the mandarins, the foreigners were of so barbarous and fierce temper as to be incapable of listening to reason. The records observe, that, "ever since they carried the point of preventing all intercourse between the Europeans and mandarins, they have imposed upon both in their turns, and put the trade of this place up such a footing as without redress would render it impracticable to Europeans." In these difficult times was that Mr. Flint, a person of uncommon talents and merit, contrived to master the difficulties of the Chinese language; but the ungrateful return which his energy and exertions in their service met with from his employers was such as tended, in all probability more than any other cause, to discourage his successors from undertaking so laborious, unprofitable and even hazardous a task. We find Mr. Flint acting as interpreter in 1747, and he soon had to perform very prominent part in China, as will appear hereafter.

The grievances suffered by our trade led to a remonstrance, in which the principal points were, the delay in unloading the ships; the plunder of goods on the river; injurious *affiches* annually put up by the government, accusing the foreigners of horrid crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace; the extortions, under false pretext of the inferior officers; and the difficulty of access to the mandarins. The ships were detained outside 1754, until the Viceroy had promised to attend these various complaints: but little was ultimately gained. It is to be apprehended that the want of union among the Europeans had, as usual, the effect of frustrating their attempts at redress. "Some of

men," it is observed, "were of opinion that we ought to make a stand; and as by arguing the case, seemed to be the farther from a determination, we acted without any resolve, except that every man should do as he liked best." This certainly was not the way to succeed with the Chinese. The animosity which prevailed between the English and French was productive of much trouble to both; and to such a height did the disorders arrive at Whampoa, between the crews of the different nations on shore, that an English sailor was at length shot by some of the French officers, and another taken prisoner; which immediately followed by a letter addressed to the English supercargoes from "Le Conseil de direction Canton, représentant la nation Française à la Chine." The Chinese magistrate held an inquest at Whampoa, and desired the French, in the first place, to give up their prisoner, which they did, alleging, however, that the English had commenced the disturbance, by attacking their people. As the French fired a musket, of which he had deliberately boasted in quest, it was plainly nothing better than a murder; and the English sailors were so exasperated, that there seemed to be no way of preventing their doing *themselves* justice, but to demand justice from the Chinese government. The Viceroy stopped them until they should give up the criminal; and somebody was at length seized by the Chinese and taken into the city, confessing himself the guilty person. He was liberated the following year by order of the emperor, on occasion of a general act of grace; and, as a means of preventing further disturbances at Whampoa, Dane's Island was allotted to the English, French Island to the French sailors, for their retention.

In 1755 Messrs. Harrison and Flint were despatched to Ningpo, with the view of re-establishing a trade there if possible. On their arrival they were well received, and the charges and customs appeared considerably lower than at Canton. The Fooyuen or de



puty-governor, was so desirous of giving them encouragement, that he conceded almost all the article their memorial : in so doing, however, he appears to have exceeded his power ; for when the ship *Holderness* subsequently proceeded to Ningpo to take advantage of this apparent opening, the Viceroy, who was then in the province, sent an order for all great guns, small arms, and ammunition to be taken out of the ship, and the same duties to be paid at Canton. Though the Fooyuen could not act directly against this order, he did not comply with it, but sent it straight up to Peking, with an account of what he had done, thereby putting it out of the Viceroy's power, as well as his own, to make an absolute decision in the interim. As it would have been the end of September before an answer could possibly arrive from Peking, the mandarins agreed to begin the business, provided that half the guns and ammunition were delivered. Twelve great guns were accordingly given up, and the ships unloaded : the *Holderness* however, paid to the mandarins 2000 taëls, and other charges and duties proved double those at Canton, while no residence was allowed on shore. The objection made by the government to a trade at Ningpo was "the loss of revenue to the emperor, arising from overland carriage of tea and other goods to Canton ;" the very circumstance, of course, which enhanced the prices of those goods to the European purchaser. On their departure from Ningpo, the supercargoes were formally acquainted by the mandarins of all future trade being forbidden them at that port ; and, on reaching Macao, the officers of the local government in like manner informed them of a palatine edict, confining the commerce to Canton.

At length, in 1759, the factory once occupied by the English at Ningpo was destroyed, the merchants with whom they had dealt ordered to quit the place, and the war-junks directed to prevent any English ship from being supplied with provisions at Chusan. *Mr. Flint*, notwithstanding this, proceeded to Ning

which the Canton government forbade his re-  
siring that he should be sent home to England  
ver he re-appeared. On arriving at Ningpo he  
refused all communication: upon this he pro-  
ceeded to the neighbourhood of Peking, and suc-  
ceeded in making his complaints known to the em-  
peror.

A mandarin of rank was appointed to proceed  
with him by land to Canton, and there, in concert  
with the emperor, to sit in judgment on the Hoppo. Mr.  
Flint, on reaching Canton, remained ten days in the  
city and then proceeded to the factory. Two days  
before the foreigners of all nations were received by  
Chinese commissioners, and informed that the  
prisoner had been degraded, his place being supplied  
by another. All impositions, moreover, were remitted,  
to 6 per cent. on goods, and the *present* of 1950  
from each ship.

It proved, however, that these fair appearances  
were destined only to be the prelude to a storm. Some  
time afterwards, the Viceroy desired to see Mr. Flint,  
with the purpose of communicating the emperor's  
edict: the council wished to accompany him, and  
this request was granted. When the party had  
entered the Viceroy's palace, the Hong merchants  
prevented their going in one at a time, but they in-  
sisted on proceeding together; and on Mr. Flint being  
informed of this, they were received by a mandarin at the  
gate, proceeding onward through two courts with-  
out any complaisance from the officers in waiting:  
on arriving at the gate of the inner court, they  
were hurried, and even forced into the Viceroy's pre-  
sence, and (under pretence of doing homage after the  
Chinese fashion) a struggle ensued with their barba-  
rarians, in which they were at length, by dint  
of numbers, thrown down. The Viceroy, seeing their  
unflinching resolution not to submit to these base  
tortures, ordered the people to desist; and then  
telling Mr. Flint to advance, he pointed to an order,  
whereby he called the emperor's edict, for his banish-  
ment to Macao, and subsequent departure for Eng-

land. This he declared was on account of his endeavouring to open a trade at Ningpo, contrary to orders from Peking; he added, that the man who had written the Chinese petition was to be beheaded that day, for traitorously encouraging foreigners, "which execution," the record observes, "was performed on a man quite innocent of what these absolute and villanous mandarins were pleased to call a crime." At the same time, the complaints against the Hoppo were admitted to have been just. Mr. Flint was detained in the city, and conveyed to a place called Tsienshan, or Casa Branca, near Macao, where he was imprisoned, but prettily well treated, though all correspondence was cut off.

Some days after the above occurrence, the French, Danes, Swedes, and Dutch met in a body at the English factory, and jointly entered a protest against the act of the Viceroy: but Mr. Flint remained in prison from March, 1760, to November, 1762, when he was carried by the Chinese to Whampoa, and put on board the ship *Horsendon*, to be conveyed to England.

The success and impunity of the Canton government on this occasion seem to have encouraged it in its assumptions for some time after. When, in March, 1765, his Majesty's ship *Argo* arrived, convoying the *Cuddalore* schooner, with a supply of half a million of dollars for the Company's treasury, the Chinese insisted on searching the schooner, on the plea that a woman was on board: but when this was declined, as contrary to all precedent, they said it would be sufficient if a mandarin were admitted "to walk two or three times up and down the deck." They were told that when a licence had been granted for taking out the silver, they might send whom they pleased to walk up and down the deck. Provisions were denied to the *Argo* in consequence of this dispute, and it was at length arranged that a mandarin should go on board when the money was unladen. The Chinese next demanded to measure his Majesty's ship *Argo*, but this was refused by Captain Affleck, more espe-

as there was a precedent against so strange requisition from a king's ship, in the case of the *Argo*, Commodore Anson, in 1742. The trade again stopped in consequence, and the Council of the Company offered to pay the amount of measurage of the Company's largest ship in lieu of the *Argo*; but the mandarins would not consent, and Captain Affleck at length allowed the *Argo* to be measured. Had he held away at the commencement of the dispute, it is probable that this might have been avoided.

The ill-will generated on both sides by the insolence of the Chinese, and the consequences resulting from it, had the effect of constantly embroiling the English and natives for several years after, during a period in which a greater number of affrays and homicides occurred than have ever been known of late years. In 1772 the *Lord Camden* was detained from

December to 5th January following, in consequence of a tumult, in which several Chinese and Europeans were badly hurt; the wounded men were conveyed into the factory, where two mandarins attended them. The ship was at first detained, but permission at length given for her sailing, on condition that the person who originated the mischief be detained in confinement; but the recovery of all the wounded soon after put an end to the affair. In the following year a most atrocious act of sanguinary justice occurred at Macao, stamping indelible dishonour on the Portuguese of that place. A Chinese lost his life, and some ungrounded accusation having implicated an Englishman, named Francis Bland, the local authority caused him to be apprehended and confined. The case was tried in the Portuguese court, the accused examined, and depositions of witnesses taken; but the slightest trace of guilt could not be attached to the prisoner. The mandarin, however, obstinately claimed him, and threatened the town in case he was not delivered. To bring the matter to a close, a general meeting or council was convened, and a member of the Macao

Senate argued, "it is unjustifiable to consent to the sacrifice of an innocent man; and, as the most accurate inquiry sufficiently proves that the Englishman is not guilty, our reasons for not surrendering him should be submitted to the mandarins, and persevered in until we shall have succeeded in saving him from an ignominious death." The vicar-general, however, named Francisco Vaz, argued in the following singular manner:—"Moralists decide that when a tyrant demands even an innocent person, with menaces of ruin to the community if refused, the whole number may call on any individual to deliver himself up for the public good, which is of more worth than the life of an individual. Should he refuse to obey, he is not innocent, he is criminal." Another Portuguese observed, with still less ceremony, "The mandarins are forcing away the Chinese dealers, determined to starve us; therefore we had better surrender the Englishman." The plurality of votes decided that Scott should be handed over, and the Chinese put him to death.\*

The following case occurs on the proceedings of 1780:—"14th December. Some days ago, a French seaman from the *Success* galley, country ship, killed a Portuguese sailor belonging to the *Stormont* in one of the merchants' houses. The man took refuge at the French Consul's, where he remained many days, but at last was given up to the Chinese, and was this morning publicly strangled by order of the Foo-yuen. This is the first instance of one European being executed for the murder of another in this country, and appears to be a very dangerous precedent, as it may involve us in inextricable difficulties, if even by accident one man should kill another. The man executed to-day could not have had any trial of common justice: the affair happened between him and the deceased in Seunqua's hong at night, nobody knowing

\* Taken from a 'Contribution to a Historical Sketch of Macao,' 1834.

quarrel until the *Stormont's* man was killed ; we do not understand that the Chinese government took any means to find out the truth. For we are not here allowed the benefit of the Chinese laws, nor have they any privileges in common with the natives. They are governed merely by such as the mandarins for the time being declare to be their will ; and the reason why more inconveniences do not occur is this :—the officers of government on such occasions rather choose to exact money from security merchants, compradores, &c., than to use harsh measures by which they gain nothing. Corruption, therefore, is so far the foreigner's ally."

A fundamental maxim of Chinese intercourse with foreigners has been accurately translated by Père du Halas as follows, and it is quite sufficient to explain the conduct. "*Barbari haud secus ac pecora non modo regendi sunt ut reguntur Sinæ. Si quis eos magnis sapientiæ legibus instruere, nihil magis quam summam perturbationem induceret. Antiqui istud optimè callebant, et ideo barbaros regendo regebant. Sic autem eos non regendo reprobant, sed eos optimè regendi ars est.*" That is, *barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as citizens. Were any one to attempt to control them by the great maxims of reason, it would tend to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings understood this, and accordingly ruled barbarians by the same maxims. Therefore to rule barbarians by misrule is the worst and the best way of ruling them.*" It is on this maxim that all the benefits of Chinese law are derived to strangers, and that, in the case of even accidental homicide, they are required to be delivered up, not for trial, but execution. The mischiefs of such a system are obvious, and it is in consequence of this system of atrocious violence on the part of foreigners committed by them under the plea of doing what they *think right*, have been attempted to be justified, and *coming strictly under the definitions of piracy,*

murder, or arson, which, under a more vigorous government, would have rendered them the proper public executioner. The following is an instance of successful daring. In the year 1790, Captain M'Clary, master of a country ship from Macao, had stopped a sloop on her way from Manila. Being on shore at Macao, he told the Portuguese governor that he had ordered his mate to bring her into the harbour for examination, on reason to suspect she was Spanish property. The Portuguese on this had him seized and imprisoned until he had sent an order for the sloop to be released without examination. This order being sent to the mate, he bore down to the sloop in compliance with it; but it blew such a gale of wind that the sloop got adrift, and was wrecked on the rocks. M'Clary upon this was detained in prison for several months, until, by ill-treatment, and threats of being delivered to the Chinese, the Portuguese had extorted from him a payment of 70,000 dollars, under pretence of its being the value of the sloop. Soon after his liberation, while M'Clary's ship was at Whampoa, in company with another vessel of Dutch colours, news arrived of war between England and Holland, upon which he seized upon the man as a prize. The Canton government immediately demanded restitution; but M'Clary told them they would not interfere, the duties should all be paid regularly; whereas, if they molested him, he would take her out of the river. On the Chinese insisting that he should restore the ship, he rigged a ladder and began to drop down from his anchorage. This immediately created a great bustle among the Chinese, all the troops available, about 200, were rendered at Tiger Island to intercept his passage. The ship meanwhile was surrounded by mandarin merchants, and when threats and civilities failed, the Chinese being very anxious for a compromise, the genius of Ponkhequa, chief Hong merchant, devised the following expedient. The pri-

the river's mouth, the Chinese were allowed her in a shouting, triumphant manner; and, in for his condescension, M'Clary was permitted to withhold an iron chest containing pearls and jewels, freighted by certain Armenians.

While the Company's Council were in a very difficult situation, being held responsible by the government for the acts of M'Clary, who certainly was no better than a pirate. They replied to the Chinese that they could not control his proceedings more than by protests, and very properly refused the demands of the mandarins, that they should accompany Chinese officers to the river to give weight to their measures. "The more," it is observed, "they desired their own want of power over the real power; the more they appeared resolved to exert it, in whom they had been accustomed to see obedience of all their regulations." An application was made by the Chinese to the Portuguese governor of Macao to deliver them up, which he declined, and a solution was at length put to these difficulties, only in circumstances already stated.

Towards the year 1782 the large sums lent by the governments of various nations to Chinese, at a high interest, had occasioned an accumulation of debt on the part of the latter, amounting, it is said, to a enormous extent of a million sterling. Among the creditors were numerous individuals connected with the trade of the Indian presidencies, and these, in the course of fruitless measures for the recovery of the property at Canton, applied, through the Indian government, to the admiral on the station, Sir Edward Pakenham, for his assistance. A frigate was accordingly despatched to China, bearing a remonstrance to the viceroy; and after a reference of the matter to Peking, an edict was received from the emperor, ordering the liquidation of the debts by the property of Hong merchants, as well as interdicting *of them from borrowing money for the future* *traders.* The debts were at length recovered.



but so little effectual was the interdict that repeated failures of Hong merchants, for very large sums due to Europeans, occurred up to the year 1829.

Among the unhappy cases which have arisen from the sanguinary practice of the Canton government in the instances of homicides, whether accidental or otherwise, when committed by Europeans, the most remarkable, perhaps, is that frequently alluded to under the name of the *gunner's case*, in 1784. On the 24th November, in that year, information reached Canton that a chop boat, alongside the *Lady Hughes*, a country ship, being in the way of a gun fired in saluting, three Chinese had been badly injured. On the following day it was learned that one had died; and the gunner, though entirely innocent of any bad intent, and acting as he did in obedience to orders, absconded from fear of the indiscriminating cruelty of the Chinese. A *weiyuen*, or deputed mandarin, soon waited on the chief of the factory, Mr. Pigou, and with the interpretation of the Hong merchants required that the man should be submitted to examination, admitting, at the same time, that his act had apparently proceeded from mere accident. The mandarin was informed that there appeared no objection to the man's examination, provided that it took place in the factory; a stipulation which was founded on the recollection of what had occurred in the Frenchman's case in 1780. Two days after, the *weiyuen* repeated his visit, accompanied by Ponkhequa, Hong merchant, with the same demands: he was informed that the *Lady Hughes*, being a private ship, was not to the same degree under the control of the chief as a Company's vessel; but that, if they would be satisfied with an examination in the factory, every persuasion should be used to induce the supercargo of the ship, Mr. Smith, to produce the man. The Chinese declared that the trial must be before the *Fooyuen in the city*, and at length retired, requesting that Mr. Smith might not leave Canton for three or four days, to which he assented. At eleven the same night they

returned to say that the man should be examined in one of the factories; but the event soon proved that this was merely to lull their suspicions, for early the next morning it was found that Mr. Smith had been decoyed from his factory by a pretended message from Ponkhequa, and conveyed into the city by force. Meanwhile the avenues leading to the river had been barricaded, the merchants and linguists had fled, and the communication with Whampoa was suspended.

The heads of all the foreign factories justly considering this as a very threatening proceeding to the whole European community, united in a resolution to order up the boats of the several ships manned and armed, both as a security, and to manifest in the strongest manner the light in which they viewed the acts of the government. Two English boats were despatched to Whampoa to carry this into effect. The watchful Chinese now endeavoured to quiet them by a message from the Fooyuen, to the purport that they should not be alarmed by the seizure of the *Lady Hughes's* supercargo, as the intention was merely to ask him a few questions and send him back again. The greater number of ships' boats reached Canton, although attempts were made to prevent them, by firing from the junks and forts in the river, and notwithstanding their having been absurdly ordered to use no arms in their own defence. A very bombastic document was received from the Fooyuen, threatening destruction if any opposition were made, and a show of force at the same time assembled in the river before the factories. On the 28th the foreigners all joined in an address in behalf of Mr. Smith, and in the evening the Fooyuen desired to see a deputation from the factory of the several nations. These reported that "his behaviour was much agitated, and it was evident he would be glad to get handsomely out of the business." The Chinese were, in fact, frightened at their own boldness, and a little resolution on the other side might have saved the man's life.

A linguist soon arrived at the factory, bringing letter from Mr. Smith to the captain of his ship, saying he would send up the gunner, or some other person, to be tried by the mandarins; and he was forwarded on the 29th to Whampoa, back to the letter from the Council. On the 30th the unhappy gunner, an old man, was brought to Canton, into the city, with an address, "signed by the Council, and the representatives of the foreign nations," in his favour. He was received by a man of superior rank, who verbally stated that no apprehensions need be entertained as to his life, when the emperor's answer had been obtained, and he should be restored. In about an hour after, Mr. Smith returned to his factory, stating that he had been civilly treated. On the 8th of January following, the unhappy gunner was strangled!

This was the last instance of the kind to which the English had to submit in China, although not the only one which has occurred at Canton; for the case of the poor innocent Italian, Terranova, given up to the Americans in 1821, was very similar. Our countrymen, warned of what they had to expect from Chinese justice and good faith, have on several occasions been ready to undergo any hardships rather than be parties to the death of an Englishman; and their exertions have in several instances been crowned with signal success. Soon after the above unfortunate occurrence, in 1784, the mission of the British Government was naturally drawn out by the growing magnitude and importance of the Chinese Empire at Canton; and it cannot be denied that, since the mission of Lord Macartney to Peking, the position of the English at that place has been considerably bettered. It was in fact only four years after the death of the gunner that Colonel Cathcart was sent from England, (in 1788,) in the *Vestal* as ambassador to China. His death on the passage in the Straits of Sunda, put an entire stop

sion for the time, and the frigate returned to land;\* nor was it until 1792 that the project was viewed on a larger scale. In the month of January that year, Mr. Dundas set on foot the proposal of a Chinese embassy, grounded on the consideration of trade having gradually increased until its actual amount exceeded that of all other nations; to which it was added, that the intercourse of almost every other country with that empire had been attended with official missions to Peking. It was hoped that such measure might relax the various trammels by which commerce with China was shackled, relieve it from some of its exactions, and place our countrymen in Canton on a footing of greater respectability, as well as security, in relation to the local government. Lord Macartney accordingly proceeded from England in the *Lion*, a 64-gun ship, in September, 1792, accompanied by Sir George Leonard Staunton, as secretary of Legation. The occurrences and result of that embassy are so well known from the celebrated work of the last-named individual, as well as from the relation of Mr. Barrow, that it would be superfluous to dwell upon them here. One of the principal effects of the mission was to draw a much larger share of the public attention towards China, and to lead gradually to the study of the language, literature, institutions, and manners of that vast and singular empire—a field which had hitherto been occupied almost exclusively by the French.

\* The tomb of Colonel Cathcart is still marked by a handsome monument, visible from the anchorage of ships at Anjiesan.

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## CHAPTER III.

## ENGLISH INTERCOURSE—(continued).

ONE of the principal objects of Earl Macartney's mission to Peking was to obtain, if possible, the permission of the emperor to trade at Ningpo, Chusan, Tsin, and other places besides Canton. All discussion upon these points, and indeed every matter of business, were studiously avoided by the Chinese ministers and mandarins, during the residence of the embassy at Peking; but, in his letter to the King of England the emperor did not omit to state distinctly, that British commerce must be strictly limited to the port of Canton. "You will not be able to complain," he, "that I had not clearly forewarned you. Let us therefore live in peace and friendship, and do not make light of my words."

Were a judgment to be formed from the experience which took place in that same year, to trade at Chusan with the specific leave of the emperor, the privilege would not seem to be a very valuable one. Captain Mackintosh, of the Company's ship *Hindustan*, attended his majesty's ship *Lion* to the Yellow Sea, had free licence to trade at Chusan if he pleased (on that particular occasion), and the ship was freed from all duties and port-charges, as pertaining to the embassy. He accordingly went there,\* and "found the mandarins and people perfectly well disposed to comply with the emperor's orders in respect to the privileges to be granted to the captain and his officers for the purchase of a cargo there; and tea and silk *much cheaper* than elsewhere: but the Chusan trade

\* Staunton's Embassy, vol. ii. p. 525.

were not prepared for so extensive a concern as a cargo of goods fitted for the European market, to fill a ship of the size of the *Hindustan*, full 1200 tons, nor for the purchase of the European goods on board her, better calculated for a larger city. They would therefore expect *specie* for most of the articles they could furnish for the *Hindustan*, and which had not been provided by her commander. He found it therefore expedient to proceed to Canton."

As it was hoped that the embassy had not been without its effect in conciliating the good-will of the Chinese government to the British trade, it was resolved, shortly afterwards, to follow it up by a letter from his majesty to the emperor, accompanied by presents. These accordingly reached Canton in January, 1795, with letters and presents from the ministers, and the chairman of the East India Company, to the viceroy; and the whole were conveyed into the city by the chief of the British factory. The viceroy received the address to the emperor with much satisfaction, and forwarded it, together with the presents, to Peking, from whence a reply, with corresponding presents, was afterwards returned. Objections, however, were made to accepting the letters and gifts intended for the heads of the Canton government, on the ground of its not being allowable for Chinese ministers to entertain a correspondence with the officers of a foreign government. It was recorded on this occasion, as well as on a subsequent one in 1805, that *tribute* had been sent by the King of England to the "Son of Heaven," and the record was quoted, not long since, by the Canton government, in an official paper addressed to the writer of this, as president of the select committee in China, who stated, of course, in reply, that *presents* had been sent, but no tribute.

No untoward events occurred, for several years subsequent to the embassy, to interrupt the quiet progress of commercial affairs at Canton. The mandarins had improved in their conduct towards the merchants, and the *highly objectionable measure* of stopping the



[The Emperor Kien-Loong.]

trade on the most trifling occasions had not been lately resorted to by the Chinese. At the same time, some of the heaviest burthens on the European trade still continued, being too profitable to both the local government and the Hong merchants to be readily abandoned by them. The most objectionable of these were, the *Consoo* fund, arising from a rate which the Hong were permitted to levy upon the foreign commerce, in order to meet the heavy demands of the government on themselves; and the inordinate amount of the port-charges and fees.

**An unfortunate occurrence, however, in 1800 threat-**

or some time to place British affairs at Canton in jeopardy, although proceeding, as very usual on such occasions, from the fault of the natives. His majesty's schooner *Providence* was lying at anchor, a party of Chinese in a small boat appeared to be attempting to cut the schooner's cable. She returned no answer on being hailed, a shot was fired into the boat, by which one Chinese was killed, and another, who jumped overboard in his distress, was drowned. The government, as usual, decided that the person who fired the musket should be hanged up; but Captain Dilkes, who was then in command of his majesty's ship *Mudras*, recommended, on the other hand, that the Chinese in the boat should be punished for their delinquency; and that the seaman, or even to allow him to be tried, except in his own presence. The Chinese at length recovered, and so the cordence closed; but, some time afterwards, an act of the Chinese law relating to homicide was presented to the select committee by the local government, although the shameful injustice and perfidy which, on several occasions, the mandarins had shown to foreigners accused of such offences, gave them no right to expect that their laws should be much altered.

As in the year 1802 that the American flag was hoisted at Canton. The consular agent for the United States, who was, in all cases, appointed from among the American merchants resident in China, was a commercial officer, and called a *Tae-pan*, or chief, by the Chinese. He received no salary from his government, but was permitted to engage in the transaction of business with his countrymen, besides trading on his own account. The American flag continued to fly at Canton until very recently, notwithstanding the interruption which the war of the United States, for some time previous to experienced by the war with England; but in the year 1832 a dispute occurred between the consul



for the time being, and the captain of an American frigate, then on a visit to China. The captain having failed to call upon the consul, the latter took offence on the occasion, and the two republicans were too tenacious of their respective ranks and dignities to come to an accommodation. The flag was struck, and the consul proceeded home. Such disputes are rendered impossible, between English officers, by the regulations of etiquette conveyed in the consular and naval instructions.

An occurrence of some importance, in 1802, tended to establish, beyond all doubt, a point which had sometimes been questioned; and this was the nature of the tenure on which the Portuguese held *Macao* of the Chinese. It was in that year that Lord Wellesley, Governor-general of India, being apprehensive that the French republic had some designs against the Portuguese establishments in the East, considered it necessary to garrison the principal settlements of our "ancient ally" with British troops; and accordingly an expedition was sent from Bengal to take *Macao* under our protection. The Portuguese would have admitted the offered aid—indeed they had not the power to refuse it—but the leave of the real masters had never been asked. The Viceroy of Canton indignantly repelled the idea of any portion of the Chinese empire needing aid from foreigners, and required the troops immediately to depart. In the meanwhile it fortunately happened that the brig *Telegraph*, despatched by the Court of Directors with news of the peace in Europe, arrived off *Macao*, and the whole of the troops accordingly returned at once to Bengal on the 3rd of July. The Portuguese did not fail on this occasion to carry on their customary intrigues with the Chinese government, with whom they did their best to ingratiate themselves, by misrepresenting the views and designs of the English. An unfortunate priest named Rodrigues, from whose knowledge of the Chinese language considerable assistance had been derived during the stay of the expedition, was in

consequence so persecuted by his countrymen that he was compelled to quit the place. The Portuguese, however, have since had ample leisure to repent their short-sighted and narrow policy towards our countrymen, which had the effect of driving the whole of the Indian opium-trade from Macao to Lintin, and thereby depriving the former place of its most fertile, and indeed *only* source of wealth.

The advantages of establishing, if possible, some commercial relations with the King of Cochin-China, on the part of the British, had been a subject of attention for some time when the present Lord Strathallan, at that period Mr. Drummond, president of the select committee at Canton, appointed Mr. Roberts, a member of the factory, to proceed on that service in November, 1803. That gentleman was directed to attend to the instructions of the Governor-general of India, from whom he was the bearer of a letter to the Cochin-Chinese king. Mr. Roberts was civilly received, and met with much liberal and friendly assistance from the French missionaries at Hue-foo, the capital. He had two audiences of the king, with an interchange of presents; but the council, with the usual cautious and exclusive spirit of the ultra-Gangetic nations, would not consent to any written treaty of commerce; and the envoy returned to Canton, after some months' residence, without having been able to establish the ends contemplated: nor was the more recent expedition of Mr. John Crawford, to the same country, attended with any better success. It appeared, subsequently to Mr. Roberts's mission, that reports prejudicial to the English were raised by a Portuguese of Macao, named D'Abrio, stating that they meditated an attack on the country. Much alarm was excited, and, when the *Discovery* surveying vessel appeared on the coast, refreshments were denied to her.

The considerable naval force, which had been maintained by France in the eastern seas for the annoyance of our *India and China* trade, had directed the

particular attention of the Company to the due arming of their ships, and an occasion occurred, in 1805, when the efficiency of those noble vessels was signally proved. The China fleet, consisting of sixteen sail, under the command of the senior officer, Captain Dance, was homeward-bound on the 15th February, when it fell in with the French squadron, under Admiral Linois, who had been cruising for some time to the north of the Straits, with the express view of cutting them off. The fleet, of which most of the ships mounted thirty guns and upwards, formed in order of battle, and advanced boldly to the engagement, the van being led by Captain Timins of the *Royal George*, who engaged the admiral's ship, a vessel of eighty guns, and received upwards of sixty shot in his hull and rigging. The fight concluded by the French squadron setting all sail, and leaving the English in quiet possession of the field, as well as of the immense amount of national property of which they were in charge. The commodore of the fleet was knighted in approbation of his gallant conduct, and the commanders of all the ships presented with swords, and other marks of distinction. This highly respectable service has been dissolved by the operation of the act which deprived the East India Company of their former privileges.

About this period, or shortly afterwards, commenced the career of the Chinese pirates, called, after the Portuguese of Macao, *Ladrones*, who for some years spread terror along the coasts of the Canton province, and even up the river itself, as far as the city. The southern shores of China, from the innumerable islands with which they are studded, have always given employment and shelter to a hardy race of fishermen, whose poverty, joined to their independent habits, have at different periods led them to combine in large bodies for piratical purposes, in defiance of the weak and inefficient maritime force by which the coasts of the empire are guarded. The power of the celebrated leader, Koshinga, and his successes against

itch settlers on Formosa, during the seventeenth y, have been already noticed; and a squadron ly less formidable was destined to appear during riod which elapsed between 1806 and 1810. articular accounts have been obtained of these ar freebooters, not only from a Chinese work, om the personal narratives of Messrs. Turner lasspoole, two Englishmen who had the mis- e to fall into their hands, and who were com- under pain of death to attend the pirates in all xpeditions.

however great their contempt for the imperial f China, or any other native force to which they be opposed, these Ladrões never willingly en- a European vessel larger than a boat, and the ng observations of the Emperor Kángny seem w that their predecessors in his time were / cautious. "We have lately heard, from the who surrendered and threw himself upon our , that when his companions went to plunder on the seas, it was their practice to avoid all an ships, being afraid of their fire-arms," &c. rce and number of the later squadron of free- s have been pretty accurately ascertained from counts of Messrs. Glasspoole and Turner. Their or vessels amounted in 1810 to about 600 of s sizes, from 80 to 300 tons, of which the largest mounted more than twelve guns, varying from eighteen pounders, which had been either pur- from European ships, or taken from the Chi- but chiefly the latter. Their hand-arms were with bamboo shafts from fourteen to eighteen ng, and they used, besides, the common Chinese ith a handle of solid wood, and an iron point ing of a slightly curved blade. They had also tabbing swords, not two feet in length. Their s usual were mounted on solid timber, without , breechings, or tackles, and run out right , so as to be fired only when they could be t to bear upon the object, by wearing the ves-

sél! The broadside being fired, they hauled off to reload, which is a difficult and tedious operation with the Chinese. The largest junks carried between 100 and 200 men, and were furnished each with an armed boat for committing depredations among the towns and villages on shore. Few narratives can be more interesting than that of Mr. Glasspoole, which was published in the United Service Journal, but which cannot be detailed in this place. Both that gentleman and Mr. Turner were ransomed for considerable sums by their friends at Canton, and escaped happily to relate their singular captivity and adventures.

Not the least remarkable feature about this formidable fleet of pirates was its being, subsequent to the death of its original chief, very ably governed by his wife, who appointed her lieutenants for active service. A severe code of laws for the government of the squadron, or of its several divisions, was enforced, and a regular appropriation made of all captured property. Marriages were strictly observed, and all promiscuous intercourse, and violence to women, rigorously punished. Passes were granted to the Chinese junks or boats which submitted to the pirates: but all such as were captured in government vessels, and indeed all who opposed them, were treated with the most dreadful cruelty. At the height of their power they levied contributions on most of the towns along the coast, and spread terror up the river to the neighbourhood of Canton. It was at this time that the British factory could not venture to move in their boats between that place and Macao without protection; and to the Ladrones, therefore, may be partly attributed the origin of the valuable survey of the Chinese seas by Captain Ross; as the two cruisers which were sent from Bombay, at the select committee's requisition, to act against the pirates, were subsequently employed by them in that work of public utility. the benefits of which have been felt by the whole commercial world.

Finding that its power was utterly unavailing *against the growing strength of the Ladrones, the*

se Government published a general amnesty to s would submit, and return to their allegiance; ce of policy which may be attributed to its ac- ance with the fact, that a serious dissension had 1 out between the two principal commanders of rate forces. This proceeded even to the length black and red squadrons (which they respec- headed) engaging in a bloody combat, wherein mer was discomfited. The weaker of the two submitted to accept the offers of the govern- which promised free pardon, and kept its en- ents; the leader was even raised to some rank emperor's service! Being thus weakened by sersion of nearly half her forces, the female in and her other lieutenant did not much hold out. The Ladrones who had submitted employed by the crafty government against former associates, who were harassed by the ge of their supplies, and other difficulties, and more months saw the whole remaining force t the proffered amnesty. Thus easily was dis- an association which at one time threatened npire: but as the sources and circumstances, e piracy has more than once sprung up, are n existence, the success and impunity of their cessors may encourage other bands of maritime s to unite in a similar confederacy at no distant l.

onsiderable number of years had elapsed since currence of one of those homicides, which, even accidental, always prove so serious and embar- g to the trade at Canton; but in the month of 1, 1807, a case happened which showed in the est light the consequences which may at any result from the riotous and unruly conduct of amen on shore, subject as they are in China to plied on the cheapest terms with ardent spirits, samshoo, generally adulterated with ingredients timulating and maddening quality. A portion crew of the ship *Neptune* had been drinking at

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The trade as usual was the  
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under a thin veil of compliance and affected friendship, it soon appeared that the Portuguese were everything in secret to misrepresent the designs of the English to their Chinese masters, by whom they were forbidden to admit any force into Macao, without permission previously obtained. It being determined, however, by the president of the command and by Admiral Drury, who commanded the force, that the troops should land, a convention was signed on the 21st of September, and they were embarked quietly on the same day. An order came from the viceroy for the troops to depart; when this was not complied with, the trade at Canton was stopped, and provisions denied both to the soldiers and to the squadron of his majesty's ships. The edict of the Chinese observed, "Knowing, as we ought to know, that the Portuguese inhabit a territory belonging to the celestial empire, how could you suppose that the French would ever venture to molest them? If they dared, our warlike troops should achieve a defeat, and chase them from the face of the country."

The admiral proposed to the viceroy by which that they should have an audience at Canton to discuss matters of commerce, but no answer whatever was returned. All British subjects were soon after ordered to join their respective vessels, and his majesty's ships were moved higher up the river. As the viceroy still refused an audience to Admiral Drury, he declared that he knew no English authority but the Company's chief, the admiral proceeded to Canton in person, and insisted on an interview, saying he would be in the city in the course of half an hour. The viceroy persisted in declining the visit, and the admiral, instead of persevering in his intention, returned to his ship.

Some time after this, the boats of all the merchant war and Indiamen were manned and armed, for the purpose of proceeding on a second visit to Canton, and forcing a way through the line of Chinese vessels which were moored across the river, and filled



soldiers, in order to prevent the admiral's approach. On reaching the line, he pulled up in his own boat to address the principal mandarin, through the medium of a Portuguese priest who acted as interpreter; no parley, however, was admitted, and after being fired at for some time, one of the admiral's men was wounded, when he ordered the signal to be made for attack. "The signal was not observed, and ordered not to be repeated. The admiral then declared his intention not to force the Chinese line, and returned with the boats to the fleet. Though a man of undisputed courage (as observed in the evidence before the Commons in 1830), Admiral Drury seems not to have possessed that cool and deliberate judgment which was essential to the success of the business he had been engaged in."\* The attempt to proceed to Canton in the boats ought either never to have been made, or it should have been carried through. A pagoda was built by the Chinese near the spot, to commemorate their victory over the English.

The trade still continued at a stand, and the viceroy issued an edict to repeat, that, while a single soldier remained at Macao, no commerce could be allowed. On the 8th of December, it was therefore determined to act on a document lately received from the emperor, which afforded a fair pretext for relinquishing the point in debate. A convention was concluded in a few days after at Macao, the troops were embarked, and Admiral Drury sailed away in the *Russell* for Bengal, on the 22nd December. Thus, after a fruitless discussion of three months, the Chinese ended in gaining their point,—the withdrawal of the troops; and their success was calculated to increase the arrogance by which they had always been sufficiently distinguished. The viceroy of Canton, however, was disgraced and removed by the emperor.

The line of measures pursued by the president in

\* *Parliamentary Evidence*, 1830.

China in concert with the admiral, on the occasion of the expedition, being disapproved in England, he was superseded by a fresh appointment from home. The Chinese, however, did not forget their grudge against Mr. Roberts, and they were encouraged by finding that he had been censured by the Company; while the Portuguese, at the same time, with their usual servility, suggested complaints against him. Soon after he had again succeeded to a seat in the committee, and returned from a visit to England, the Hoppo in 1813 issued an edict against that gentleman, expressly on account of his measures five years before, and it was declared that he was not permitted to proceed to Canton. Indisposition, it so happened, actually detained him at Macao on that occasion; but the committee were determined to deny the right of Chinese interference in the appointments of the English authorities; and, although the *Factory* reached Canton at the end of September, they would not permit the ships to unload until the interdict against Mr. Roberts should have been withdrawn. On the 22nd November, the president addressed a strong remonstrance to the viceroy on the subject, but before an answer could be returned, the gentleman who was the subject of discussion died at Macao of his illness. The president then declared that the principle on which the committee acted was in nowise altered by that circumstance; and as the Hoppo issued a paper, in which the local government disclaimed the right of interfering in the Company's appointments, the trade was resumed.

The jealous and suspicious character of the Chinese government was eminently displayed in the year 1813, on the occasion of some presents from England being conveyed to a minister at Peking. Soong-tajin, a mandarin of high rank, who had acted as conductor to Lord Macartney's mission, and whose kind and conciliatory conduct to the English on that occasion, as well as when he afterwards filled the office of viceroy at Canton, had made some of them his warm friends,

ne at length elevated to the rank of one of the  
ror's council. It was therefore resolved in Eng-  
that, both as an acknowledgment of past good  
s, and an earnest of future ones, a letter and  
nts should be conveyed to the minister: the  
n selected for the performance of this service  
Chinese named Ayew, for some time linguist at  
on, and by him the gold box and letter were  
conveyed to their destination. He returned on  
5th August, with a card of acknowledgment from  
g-tajin; but not long after his arrival the linguist  
seized by order of the government, and after a  
ary trial banished to Tartary, for the crime of  
dealings with foreign barbarians! It was soon  
learned that the unfortunate minister had been  
uced, and the present sent back; and it has been  
remarked that the unguarded mandarin, whose  
ole character distinguished him above the gene-  
of his countrymen, never afterwards regained  
rmer power, or favour with the emperor.  
e foregoing circumstances came subsequently, in  
ear 1814, to be mixed up with discussions in  
the select committee were involved with the  
government, partly in consequence of the pro-  
ngs of his majesty's ship *Doris*, which was then  
ising a very active blockade against the Ameri-  
erchantmen in the Canton river. In the month  
ril, the *Doris* being on a cruise near Macao, cap-  
the American ship *Hunter*, off the Ladrone  
ds, and brought her in. The Chinese govern-  
immediately issued an edict, desiring the com-  
e to *send the Doris away*, which they of course  
ered by stating their inability to perform what  
demanded. In May following, the *Doris's* boats  
ad an American schooner from the neighbour-  
of Macao up to Whampoa, within ten miles of  
on, where they took her; but, before she could  
urried out of the river, the Americans at Whampoa  
ad their boats and retook their schooner. This  
t, with the capture of the *Hunter* previously,

commenced the troubles of 1814. The Chinese hereupon entered upon a course of aggressive measures, not against the frigate, but against the factory, which soon became intolerable. The local government first prohibited the employment of native servants; they then sent persons to enter the factory, and seize upon such Chinese as they found there. The boats of the Indiamen were molested while peaceably proceeding on their business on the river; and every attempt was made to prevent communication with our men-of-war.

The committee, seeing the hostile disposition of the government, determined on the bold measure of stopping the trade, as the only means of arriving at a remedy. The Chinese, somewhat startled at their old weapon being turned against themselves, began to display a more conciliatory temper, and, after some debate, a mandarin was appointed to meet Sir George Staunton, who was deputed to conduct the negotiation on the part of the committee. Accordingly, on the 20th of October, Sir George proceeded to Canton, accompanied by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe and Mr. Davis. The first subject of complaint was the arrest of the linguist Ayew, for performing a service which was merely complimentary on the part of the English, and expressive of their respect for a dignified officer of government, who had conducted the first embassy through China, and been on friendly terms with its members. It was immediately replied, that his seizure was on account of a totally different affair, and that there was no intention of condemning the proceeding. Several meetings took place with the principal mandarins and one or two assessors, but little progress was made towards an adjustment; when the viceroy suddenly determined on breaking off the negotiation. The committee upon this resolved on issuing a notice to all British subjects to quit Canton: Sir George Staunton and the gentlemen with him embarked in the *Wexford*, and the whole fleet proceeded down the river.

This step had the effect of completely curing the obstinacy of the viceroy. A deputation of Hong merchants was sent down to the ships, with authority to state that mandarins would be sent to discuss the remaining points in dispute if Sir George would return. On his reaching Canton, an attempt was made to retract the pledge, but this could not be persisted in; and, after several long and tedious audiences with the mandarins, the principal points in dispute were gained, and incorporated in an official paper from the viceroy, as the only security against a breach of faith on the part of the Chinese. The privilege of corresponding with the government under seal, and in the active character, was now for the first time established; an assurance was given that no Chinese officer should ever enter the British factory without leave previously obtained; and licence was given to native servants to enter into the service of the English without molestation from the petty mandarins; together with some other points.

The measures above detailed were highly approved in England; but the conduct and disposition of the Chinese government for some time past had been such, as to prove that the commercial interests of the nation in China were exposed to the utmost hazard from the chance of perpetual interruption at the will of a capricious and despotic set of delegates, who kept the court of Peking in profound ignorance of their own oppressive and arbitrary conduct towards the Company's trade. To these circumstances are to be attributed the embassy of Lord Amherst in 1816, in which the object was to secure, if possible, the commerce of Great Britain upon a solid and equitable footing under the cognizance of the emperor, and with the advantage of a ready appeal to him in case of need. The design of a mission to Peking had been for some time entertained by his majesty's ministers and the Court of Directors, when the arrival from China of the despatches of 1815 confirmed them in the resolution. *It was hoped, as a collateral object,*

and one within the range of possibility, that an resident might be admitted at the capital, or sion be obtained for trading to some of the the north-east coast.

The embassy left England in the *Alceste* fri the 10th of February, attended by the *Lyra* b the *General Hewett*, a Company's ship, and off Macao on the 12th of July, when it was joi Sir George Staunton, the first commissioner, as by the Chinese secretaries, and the other men who were appointed from England to acco it to Peking. The ships reached the Gulf of P on the 28th of July, but the ambassador did n until the 9th of August. On the 12th the reached Tien-tsin, where a feast was conferred part of the emperor, and an attempt made t about the *practice* of the *ko-tow*, or prostration, a yellow screen, preparatory to the grand perfo of it before the emperor himself. This, howe successfully avoided, on the plea that Earl Ma had not been required to execute that act o and vassalage.

As some uninformed persons have, without su consideration or knowledge of the subject, vent argue that the non-performance of the *ko-tow* strict an adherence to punctilio on the part of b ambassadors, it may be as well to show, that, j (with them) all considerations of national hono dignity entirely out of the question as mere v and viewing the matter simply as one of com profit or loss, there is nothing to be *gained* by the reverse. It was observed in the narrative c Macartney's mission, "The Dutch, who in ti century submitted at once to every ceremon scribed to them, in the hope of obtaining in some lucrative advantages, complained of being t with neglect, and of being dismissed without the *est promise* of any favour."\* The fate of i

\* Vol. ii. p. 131

h embassy was still worse ; but it is fair to state gains against their losses on the occasion. In n for beating their heads nine times against the id before the throne, they certainly had some n victuals sent them, as from the emperor. Of , however, Van Braam observes, that they were ipally sheep's trotters, "which appeared to have already gnawed clean. This disgusting mess," ds, "was upon a dirty plate, and appeared rather ed to feed a dog than to form the repast of a n creature." As this was the only public ad- ge they gained by their painful corporeal exer- upon the ground, it may next be observed that whole course of their treatment on the journey was of the most mortifying and degrading cha- . This embassy occurred in 1795, during the 'small-clothes, and before liberal principles had generally established in dress, as in other rs ; and these hapless Dutchmen were made, on most trivial occasions of *ceremony*, to perform evolutions, while the wicked mandarins stood d laughed—and who would not ?—at what has diplomatically styled "the embarrassment of a -built stern in tight inexpressibles."

John Malcolm, who understood, if any man lid, the Asiatic character, has observed in one s works :—"From the hour the first mission ed Persia, servants, merchants, governors of , chiefs, and high public officers, presuming upon gnorance, made constant attempts to trespass our dignity ; and, though repelled at all points, ontinued their efforts, till a battle royal at Shiraz e question to rest, by establishing our reputation, a just sense of our own pretensions, upon a basis was never afterwards shaken." Russia, whose adors, like our own, have *refused* to perform inese act of vassalage, has a residency at Pe- which *may at least* (as an advantage) be set t "*les pattes d'un mouton*," and "*les ossements* "which the Dutchmen gained by performing it.

Admitting, however, that the balance was in favour of the latter, it may reasonably be questioned whether it is wise, on such occasions, to sink *all* considerations of national respectability. The Athenians were a politic as well as brave people; and when Timagoras, who was sent by them as ambassador to the King of Persia, had the imprudence to degrade his country by the act of prostration, he was condemned to die on his return.

But let us only do as the Chinese *themselves* have always done. Gerbillon tells us, that when an officer of the Emperor K'ang-hy was taken by the King of the Eluths, the latter insisted on his speaking on his knees; but the Chinese refused, saying he was *not his vassal*, but his own emperor's. A Chinese account of Japan expressly states that an ambassador from Peking to that country refused the prostration, and, rather than compromise the honour of his nation, returned without communicating the orders of his court. But it has been mere ignorance to consider the *ko-tow* as nothing but a *ceremony*. The unthinking majority is led by names, and it is important to know that the prostration is the solemn rite by which the King of Cochin-China, and the rulers of the petty kingdoms of Corea and Loo-choo, do homage by their emissaries upon being confirmed by the Chinese emperor in the succession. The spirit and import of the *ko-tow* is that of the form by which the feudal tenant *in capite* did homage to his liege lord; and every country that, like Japan, has professed to be independent, has declined performing it.

However oddly it may sound to us, at the distance of more than 12,000 miles, the aspirations, with which the court of Peking aims at universal supremacy, are best expressed in the words of the old secular hymn:—

“Alme sol, possis nihil urbe Romæ  
Visere majus!”

*All countries that send tribute, while their ambassadors go through the forms of allegiance, constitute a*



the empire, and their respective kings reign in the sanction of the "Son of Heaven." This signifies little enough at a distance, but the fact is felt in China; for any remonstrance against the emperor, on the part of a subject of one of these kingdoms, must be stopped by such an unanswerable argument which proves at once his relative inferiority and helplessness; and what had been merely the desire of independence in another, become, in his case, rebellion. Mr. Barrow, who had really studied the subject and understood it well, observed that "a tame and passive obedience to the degrading demands of a despotic court serves only to feed its pride, and to confirm the absurd notions of its own vast importance." At Peking, quoted by Du Halde, remarked, in the year 1687, that the princes of Europe should be astonished how they send letters and presents to the emperor, and that "their kingdoms be registered among the vassals."

This is rather an important subject, and may be the subject of a question of expediency at some future time, but it is well to add Dr. Morrison's observations:—there is a difference of submission and devotedness expressed by different postures of the body, and some people feel an almost instinctive reluctance to the expression of submission. As, for instance, bowing the head is less than kneeling; and bending the head is less than kneeling on two knees; as that is less than kneeling on two knees and putting the hands and forehead to the ground; and doing this once is, in the apprehension of the Chinese, less than doing it three times, or six or nine times. Waiving the question whether it is proper for one human being to use such strong expressions of submission to another or not, when the submission is the strongest of these forms are *reciprocal*, they do not interfere with the idea of equality, or of independence. If they are *not* reciprocally expressed, the last of the forms expresses in the most distinct manner the submission and homage of one

person or state to another: and in this light the Tartar family now on the throne of China consider the *sau-kwei kew-kow*, thrice kneeling and nine times beating the head against the ground. Those nations of Europe who consider themselves tributary and yielding homage to China should perform the Tartar ceremony; those who do not consider themselves so should not perform the ceremony.

"The English ambassador, Lord Macartney, appears to have understood correctly the meaning of the ceremony, and proposed the only condition which could enable him to perform it, viz., a Chinese of equal rank performing it to the King of England's picture; or perhaps a promise from the Chinese court that should an ambassador ever go from thence to England, he would perform it in the king's presence, might have enabled him to do it. These remarks will probably convince the reader that the English government acts as every civilised government ought to do, when she endeavours to cultivate a good understanding and liberal intercourse with China. But since, while using these endeavours, she never contemplates yielding homage to China, she still wisely refuses to perform by her ambassador that ceremony which is the expression of homage." This argument takes the question upon a higher ground than that sordid one, of a mere commercial profit or loss; but even according to *that*, we think it has been shown to be a losing speculation to kiss the dust before the Chinese emperor. The performance of the prostration by its ambassador places a country on a level with *Loo-choo*, and those tributary states whose kings reign by the sanction of the court of Peking. The non-performance of it (which has been the uniform course pursued by every *Chinese* ambassador sent to a foreign country) proves the independent sovereignty of a state, and gains for its ambassador a far more respectful treatment than the contrary procedure, as experience has sufficiently proved.

*In fact*, the whole conduct of the persons deputed

from Peking to negotiate the point of the ceremonial, joined to the information subsequently obtained, proved that the rejection of Lord Amherst's mission was not entirely on account of the *ko-tow*; and that, even had the embassy been received in the hurried and undignified manner which was very properly resisted, it would have been sent away again within a few days, contrary to the regulation by which forty days are assigned as the limit of stay. The provincial government of Canton well knew that a principal object of the embassy was to complain of the treatment which our commerce had there experienced, and its whole influence had in every way been exerted to frustrate the success of the mission. Lord Macartney, who declined submitting to the prostration, was more honourably received than almost any ambassador that ever entered China; and it was remarked that, if there was any difference in the treatment of Lord Amherst's embassy *before* and *after* its return towards Canton, it was in favour of the latter. But it was afterwards clearly demonstrated that the emissaries of the provincial government had been busily at work: and even during the progress of the negotiations a rumour was heard that "one of the commissioners had *purchased* his situation, to which he had no proper title; that he had amassed an immense fortune by trade," &c., and other matters of the same kind, which, in conjunction with the treatment of the embassy, clearly proved the agency of the Canton viceroy and his colleagues.

Meanwhile, these same local authorities lost no opportunity of displaying their ill-will towards the *Alceste*, the *Lyra*, and the *Hewett* Indiaman, which had proceeded to Canton, and reached that place some time before the arrival of the embassy through the interior of China. The Hoppo denied a cargo to the *Hewett*, on the plea of her being a "tribute ship," looking, no doubt, for a handsome bribe from the Hong merchants for permission to load her. Leave was at the same time refused to the *Alceste* and *Lyra*

to anchor at Whampoa, by which it was intended to degrade the British ambassador below the tribute-bearer from Siam, whose *junk* has free leave to enter the river! The *Alceste*, however, proceeded very leisurely on her way; and Captain Maxwell, on being fired at by the junks, and the fort at the river's mouth, silenced the junks with a single shot; while one broadside sufficed to send the garrison of the fort scampering up the side of the hill, down which that defence is somewhat preposterously built. The effect of this decisive conduct was evinced in the short space of one day, by the arrival of all sorts of provisions to the *Alceste* at Whampoa, by a free consent to load the *Hewett*, and by the publication of a statement that the firing at the entrance of the river was an affair of saluting!

Those who composed the embassy were gratified to find on their arrival at Canton, on the 1st of January, that Captain Maxwell had not been deterred by any unnecessary apprehensions for their safety from duly maintaining the dignity of the British flag. The viceroy, it appeared, had a letter from the emperor for the Regent, which he was bound to deliver in person to Lord Amherst. It was resolved by his excellency not to consent to any meeting with that functionary, unless the first place was yielded to himself and the commissioners; as Chinese of the rank of the viceroy were too much accustomed to arrogate to themselves the precedence on such occasions, even with their guests; and it was important at Canton, the seat of our connexions with the country, to take this public opportunity of maintaining his own rights. Accordingly a yellow tent was erected in which the viceroy, reverently lifting above his head with both hands the emperor's despatch, which was enclosed in a roll of yellow silk, delivered it with much solemnity into the ambassador's hands. The whole party then repaired to an adjoining tent, where his excellency, with Sir George Staunton (who had now resumed his former station at Canton) and the other commis-

; took their seats to the left; and the viceroy, his lieutenant, and the Hoppo, on the other side. This same officer, by name Tseang Tajin, who inflicted so many vexations on the English at Canton since 1814, of whom it was one of the principal objects of the mission to complain, and whose presence at court may be considered as a chief cause of rejection. His looks on this occasion betrayed unfriendly feelings; but an attempt which he made to say something uncivil met with such a reception made him shrink within himself, and he was obliged to hide his embarrassment in a hurried take-up, which closed the business of the embassy in Canton. Mr. Barrow calculates\* that Lord Macartney's mission cost the Chinese government a sum of money to 170,000*l.* sterling. Lord Amherst's must have cost nearly the same during the five months it was in their hands; and it is hardly surprising if they were so anxious for many such expensive visits.

It has often been a subject of just remark, that this successful mission was followed by a longer interval of tranquillity, and of freedom from Chinese annoyance than had ever been experienced before. From the year 1816 to 1829 not a single stoppage of the free trade took place, except in the affair of the Chinese frigate in 1822; and there the Canton government was glad to make the first advances to a resumption of the suspended intercourse, as we shall see. In 1820 an accidental occurrence took place, which gave rise to transactions of a very remarkable nature, proving in the strongest manner the anxiety of the government to avoid a discussion with the English. Some boats from one of the Company's ships were watering in the river, when they were suddenly attacked by a party of Chinese with stones. The officer in charge of the boats fired over the heads of the assailants to make them desist, but the shot unfortunately took effect among some boys on a high

\* *Travels in China*, p. 605.

bank opposite, and killed one of them. The Chinese, as usual, demanded that somebody should be given up; but the committee insisted on the urgent emergency which led to the discharge of the gun, as well as on the accidental nature of the case.

In the mean while, the butcher on board one of the ships committed suicide; and the Chinese, on hearing this, immediately took it up, thinking proper to assume that *he* must be the individual who had shot the boy! The utmost eagerness and haste were shown by them in appointing an inquest of mandarins, who proceeded to examine the body; and, as it was decided by them at once that the deceased butcher must be the homicide, the trade proceeded as usual. It must be observed, that the committee only granted permission for the ship to be boarded by the mandarins when they demanded it, and that the whole proceeding showed the extreme anxiety of the local authorities to accommodate the affair, as soon as they despaired of getting possession of some victim to strangle without a trial. But they carried the matter still farther. A person of some rank, scandalized at this disgraceful proceeding on the part of the government, did his best to induce the father of the deceased boy to declare that he was not satisfied with the butcher being the slayer of his son. The mandarins immediately took all the parties into custody and punished the instigator of the complaint, as well as those who conspired to promote litigation and trouble.\*

Two cases of homicide now remain to be briefly related, which occurred within a short period of each other, and which exhibit, in every point of view, a very remarkable contrast. The one, which involves the Americans, proves the unhappy consequences of disunion among a number of private traders, each

\* It has been ignorantly or maliciously asserted, that the committee were parties to this disgraceful transaction: the allegation is false, and their official interpreter, Dr. Morrison, expressly refused the invitation of the mandarins to *present*.

influenced by his individual interests and feelings; the other, which implicated the English, must remain an example of the benefits to be derived from China from a well-organized and steady union and severance against the barbarous conduct of the Chinese. On the 23rd September, 1821, an Italian, or, by name Francis Terranova, on board the American ship *Emily*, was the unfortunate cause of the death of a Chinese woman, whom he observed in a boat alongside selling spirits to the crew. He threw down a small earthen jar, which struck the woman on the forehead, and she immediately fell overboard and sank, either in consequence of being stunned, or because the wooden pin, to which her oar was fastened, broke on her pulling away from the ship. The American trade was stopped until the man should be delivered up. They consented to his being tried by the mandarins on board the ship, and after this mockery of justice, in which not a single witness was examined for the prisoner, and the offer of Dr. Morrison as interpreter was refused by the Chinese, the poor man was declared guilty, and put in irons by the Americans, at the desire of his judges. In a week after, complaints and discussions arose among those whose trading transactions were suffering from the delay, when it was required that the Italian should be delivered up for a second trial at Canton, the Hong merchants were told that they might take him. In the words of Dr. Morrison, he was "abandoned by those who should have protected him." All Europeans, as well as Americans, were excluded from his second trial, and by day-break next morning he was hurried to the place of execution, in opposition to all the delays and forms of Chinese law, and cruelly executed. The Peking government was at the same time informed that he had been tried in open court, and that the American consul had witnessed his execution!

The success of the Chinese on this occasion was only to inspire them on the next, which happened

the month, the frigate, having no further occasion to remain in China, set sail. A number of attempts were subsequently made to induce the committee to make a false statement to the viceroy; but, when all these had failed, a paper was received from the Chinese authorities fully and freely opening the trade, and absolving the committee from responsibility. They accordingly returned to Canton on the 23rd February, the discussions having lasted just six weeks.

The local government was on this occasion for the first time brought to acknowledge that the committee had no control over, nor connection with, his majesty's ships. The subject of the two men's death was subsequently renewed in 1823, but eventually dropped. The first-lieutenant of the *Topaze*, having been tried by a court-martial on his return home, was honourably acquitted; and the result was conveyed in a letter from the president of the Board of Control to the viceroy. It was, however, left to the discretion of the committee to present this letter or not, as they might deem most proper; and as an edict had in the mean while been received from the emperor, acquiescing in the conclusion of the discussions, the letter was withheld.

A calamity of fearful extent, affecting equally the Chinese and Europeans, and which will not soon be forgotten at Canton, occurred towards the end of 1822; this was the great fire, which has been calculated to have equalled in its ravages that of London, in 1666. At nine o'clock, on the night of the 1st November, a fire broke out at the distance of about a mile north-east of the factories, and, as the wind was then blowing with great fury from the north, it soon spread with such fearful rapidity that at midnight the European dwellings appeared to be threatened. Representations in writing were sent from the British factory to the viceroy, offering every assistance with engines and men, and recommending that the houses nearest to the fire should be pulled down to prevent its spreading. This, however, was not attended to,



and at eight o'clock on Saturday morning the factories were on fire. All efforts during that day to arrest the flames were rendered ineffectual by the violence of the wind, and on Sunday morning everything was consumed, with the exception of a few sets of apartments. The Company had goods to a very considerable amount burned in their warehouses; but their treasury, which was arched with solid blocks of stone, and secured by treble doors, and which contained not much less than a million of dollars, remained safe and entire, though surrounded by the ruins of consumed buildings. It was said that full 50,000 Chinese were rendered houseless by this calamity, and the numbers who lost their lives were very considerable. A police and guard was appointed by the government to protect property near the river and about the factories; but this was greatly aided by a well-organized body of armed men and officers from the Company's ships, who relieved each other by turns. Without these precautions, there was every reason to fear a general pillage from the multitudes of vagabond Chinese which had been brought together, and seemed ready to take advantage of the confusion. A considerable amount of property was saved by means of boats on the river, and these boats for some time served many of the Europeans as their only available lodging; but, through the assistance of a Hong merchant, who lent them his house, the Company were able to recommence their business in a week after the fire. Such is the frequency of Chinese conflagrations near the foreign factories, that the recurrence of a similar catastrophe may at any time be viewed as a probable event.

From this period a number of years elapsed during which affairs at Canton proceeded tranquilly, without accident or hindrance of any kind; but in the mean while the mismanagement, or dishonesty, of some of the Hong merchants were preparing embarrassments of another description. Their number had of late years consisted of ten or eleven, and of these one or

two poorer individuals, who had never enjoyed much credit or confidence, failed for a small amount, without producing much effect on the general trade; but, about the beginning of 1828, the known difficulties of two of the principal Hong's began to display the evil effects of a system of credit, which had grown out of the regulations of the government in respect to the payment of the Hong debts.

It had been for many years enacted, by an order from the emperor, that the whole body of Hong merchants should be liable for the debts of their insolvent brethren to Europeans. It was at the same time ordered, that no money obligations should be contracted by them to foreigners; but the prohibition proved utterly ineffectual. The solid guarantee of the Consol or general body, which afforded every certainty to the European or American capitalist that he should ultimately recover his loan, whatever might be the fate of the borrower, gave to the Chinese merchants such a facility in obtaining credit, as led some of the more prodigal, or less honest ones, to incur very large debts at the usual Chinese rate of ten or twelve per cent. One of them failed in 1828 for the amount of more than a million of dollars. He was banished to Tartary, which, in Canton-English, is called "going to the cold country;" but, being a broken constitution and withal a smoker of opium, he died on his journey. In the following year, 1829, another Hongist, who had borrowed very largely of Europeans and Americans, failed for a nearly equal sum. This last, however, was altogether a fraudulent transaction, for Chunqua (which was the man's name) made off to his native province with a large portion of the money; and such was the influence of his family, some of whom were persons of high official rank, that he contrived to keep his ill-gotten gains, and to make the Consol pay his creditors.

These two failures, to the aggregate amount of about two millions of dollars, produced, as might be *expected*, a considerable sensation and loud clamours

among the foreign merchants at Canton. Discussions subsequently arose with the Consou, as to the period in which the debts were to be liquidated, the Hong merchants contending for ten annual instalments, while the creditors would not extend it beyond six. At length, by the powerful influence of the select committee, which was exerted on the side of the Europeans and Americans, it was settled that both the insolvents' debts should be finally liquidated by the end of 1833, which was about six years from the occurrence of the first failure. The eyes of the government were, however, opened to the mischievous consequences of the regulation, which obliged the corporation of Hong merchants to be answerable for the debts of any member of the Consou, however improvident or dishonest; and it was enacted, that from henceforth the corporate responsibility should cease. The whole amount of the two millions was strictly laid up at the end of the limited period; and there was no real cause of regret to the foreign merchants at the rule which made every man answerable for his own debts; for, in the first place, the previous arbitrary system had generated a hollow species of credit, which was anything but favourable to the trade at large; and, secondly, the debts, though they might seem to have been paid by the Hong merchants, were in reality paid by the foreigners; as a tax on imports was expressly levied for the purpose, and this had even been known to remain unremitted, after the object of its creation was answered.

The last two failures had reduced the number of Hong merchants to six, a body altogether inadequate to conduct the European trade; in fact, very little better than the *Emperor's merchant*, or "monster in rade," noticed in the last chapter. The six themselves were, of course, in no way anxious that the number should be augmented; but the attention of the select committee became seriously directed to that object. It is a singular fact, that, notwithstanding the close monopoly enjoyed by the Consou, and

the opportunities of making money possessed by its members, the extortions and other annoyances to which a Hong merchant is at any time exposed, by being *security* for, or having any connexion with foreigners, are such, that most persons of capital were disinclined to join the number. As the local government seemed disposed to show its usual indifference and contempt for the representations of strangers, the Company's fleet of 1829 was detained outside the river on its arrival, with a view effectually to draw attention to the subject.\*

On the 8th September an address was sent to the viceroy, in which the principal points urged were, the necessity for adding to the number of Hong merchants; the heavy port-charge on ships at Whampoa, amounting on a small vessel to about 800*l.* sterling; and some check on the rapacity of the government officers connected with the customs. The reply and subsequent proceedings of the viceroy were in favour of making new Hong merchants, but unsatisfactory as to other points; and the committee, on the 16th November, renewed their remonstrances, and continued the detention of the ships at their present anchorage. The local authorities, however, showed no disposition to swerve from their last declaration, and the viceroy added, "As to commerce, let the said nation do as it pleases; as to regulations, those that the celestial empire fixes must be obeyed." The discussions continued without any alteration on either side until the 11th January, at which date the necessity was contemplated of sending the greater number of ships over to Manilla, until the Chinese government should be induced to concede the points in dispute.

The committee, at the same time, applied to the

\* In 1832 a newly-made Hongist took for his establishment (according to custom) a particular designation, and the one selected by him signified "happiness, or prosperity, complete;" but this was rather premature, for, before he could begin trading, all his capital was expended in fees or bribes to the mandarins, and he failed.

nor-general of India to assist them by forward-representation to Peking, and suggested the expediency of some ships of war being sent to give t to their representations: the supreme government, however, declined interfering without authority home. There is reason to apprehend that these authorities had been confirmed in their obstinacy by a knowledge of the fact, that the committee was not unanimous, the majority being opposed to William Plowden, the chief supercargo, who at last, finding himself at variance with his colleagues, of little weight in the factory, made up his mind to return to China, which he did about the end of January. The viceroy, on the 2nd February, issued an edict, by which that an additional Hong merchant had been appointed, and that others would follow; that the debts of the two bankrupt Hongs would be paid; and that the subject of the port-charges had been referred to the emperor. This appeared to the committee sufficiently satisfactory to warrant their ordering the fleet up to Whampoa, and on the 8th of the month the viceroy was apprized of their having done so. On the 1st of March three new Hongs were admitted.

The factories now proceeded in peace and quietness, and the ships were all laden and sent home as usual; but, in the following season, events occurred, which threatened one time to produce much confusion and mischief. The detail is instructive, as it shows from small and contemptible beginnings the most disastrous results may ensue, in a place like Canton, where the Chinese and strangers live, in respect to property, very much in what the lawyers call "a state of nature," that is, governed by no rule but their passions or interests. A Swiss watchmaker, M. Bovet, lodged in the same factory with some others,\* having a back entrance common to the pretensions of Bombay, Fire-worshippers, or disciples of Zoroaster, and the real representatives of those ancient Persians who fought with the Greeks. They left their country after its

mises. The watchmaker, being a violent fellow, took it upon himself to fasten up this gate, on the ground of the annoyance that he experienced from the free passage. This, as might be expected, very soon led to a squabble: an unfortunate man named Mackenzie, master of a trading vessel, being roused by a loud disturbance about nightfall, ran down with a stick, and struck one of the most active of the Parsees, upon which they all fell upon him, and inflicted such blows as occasioned his death.

The Parsees were immediately shipped off by the committee as prisoners to Bombay; but the Chinese presently applied for the delivery of the homicides for trial (or rather execution), quoting the case of the Frenchman who had killed a Portuguese in 1780. At the same moment, an edict was issued by the viceroy, insisting on the removal from Canton, forthwith, of the president's lady, who had proceeded thither contrary to the custom by which females were restricted to Macao; and no unequivocal threats were held out, that force would be resorted to in the event of non-compliance. This, combined with the risk to which Mackenzie's murder seemed to expose the English, led the committee to order up from the fleet a guard of about a hundred seamen, and a couple of eighteen-pounders, informing the Hongists that until the threats were withdrawn, these men should not be removed. This measure having been adopted with celerity and vigour, was successful in intimidating the Chinese. An assurance was given that no violence was intended, upon which the guns and men were ordered down to the ships, after having been about a fortnight at Canton.

The Court of Directors had in the mean while disapproved of the detention of their ships in the preceding season, and superseded the committee, whose

conquest by the Mahometans, and settled in the west of India, and are the most commercial of our Eastern subjects. Parsees would seem to be derived from the Latin *Parseæ*.

cessors arrived in November, 1830, soon after the events above related. They found, as might be expected, much irritation prevailing on all sides, and were assailed by papers from the viceroy, insisting on the withdrawal from Canton of all the foreign ladies. Those actually on the spot were allowed to remain there until the conclusion of the winter season, but none came up in the following year, as it was not deemed a point of sufficient consequence to proceed to extremities upon; and indeed the very discussion itself rendered Canton an undesirable residence for females of any delicacy while it continued, the language and epithets used by the Chinese, in reference to them, being of a shocking description. But matters of a graver character were soon forced upon the consideration of the Company's authorities.

A considerable encroachment had been made upon the river, subsequent to the rebuilding of the foreign factories after they were burned down by the great fire of 1822, the new ground being principally composed of the rubbish and ruins of the former buildings. The space in front of the Company's factory had been extended in common with the rest, and there remained only a corner to fill up in order to complete a small square, which it was intended to plant with shrubs, and convert into a garden for exercise and recreation. This seemed from the very commencement to excite the spleen of the Chinese, and the committee lately superseded had been repeatedly required to undo the work. As this appeared merely capricious, the demand had been unheeded; and even when the Chinese, during the absence of the factory, had destroyed a portion of the work, it was subsequently restored by the aid of a party from the ships. The newly appointed committee found things in this state on their arrival in China, and it was not long before an explosion took place.

Some time after the departure of the last ship of the season, and during the absence of the committee from Canton, the *Fooyuen* or viceroy's deputy, came sud-

denly on the morning of the 12th May to the factory, and, sending for the Hong merchants and linguists, demanded of them an explanation regarding the completion of the garden and quay in front of the Company's factory, contrary to the orders of the viceroy. When these pleaded their innocence of any participation in the business, chains were sent for, and the linguist put in confinement, while the chief Hong merchant remained on his knees until the Hoppo, who was present, had interceded for him. An order was given to remove the quay and restore it to its former condition, on pain of death to the wretched Howqua and linguist; and the Fooyuen, ordering the late king's picture to be uncovered, seated himself down with his back to it. Soon after this occurrence an edict was published, containing eight regulations for the conduct of foreign intercourse, which tended to make the condition of Europeans in China even worse than it had been. No persons were to remain during the summer at Canton; the native servants were to be under stricter surveillance; all foreigners were to submit to the government and control of the Hong merchants, and not to quit the factories in which they lived; none might move up and down the river without a licence; and restrictions were contemplated on the mode of addressing the government, contrary to the stipulations of 1814. In consequence of these threatening proceedings of the local officers, notices in English and Chinese were issued by the committee, stating that, unless the apprehended evils were redressed or removed, the commercial intercourse would be suspended on the 1st of August following. A letter was at the same time despatched to the governor-general of India, suggesting the expediency of an address from his lordship to the viceroy, to be conveyed by one of his majesty's ships. At the end of May the English merchants and agents at Canton published a set of resolutions, concurring in all that had been *done by the committee*, as the only safeguard against *additional evils and encroachments*.



On the 9th June an edict was received from the ceroy (who had, in the mean time, been absent on account of an insurrection in Hainân), sanctioning what the Fooyuen had done, and forwarding the emperor's confirmation of the eight regulations which threatened the trade. The sanction of the emperor having been thus obtained to the obnoxious clauses, their abrogation no longer rested with the local government. It therefore became necessary for the committee to review their position, as the probability, rather possibility, of any alteration in these threatened regulations previous to the 1st August would no longer be contemplated. They accordingly came to the resolution of postponing any measures as to stopping the trade, and any active steps towards obtaining a redress of grievances, until the result of their reference to India could be ascertained. This was accordingly made known by a second notice, and the Bengal government was apprised of the resolution. In the mean while, the stir made by the committee appeared not to have been without its effect on the Chinese authorities, for no attempt was made to put the new regulations in force, and Europeans carried on their business unmolested at Canton. In the month of November his majesty's ship *Chalenger* arrived from Bengal, conveying the letter of monstinance from the governor-general to the ceroy. After some negotiation this was delivered in a suitable manner to a deputation of mandarins; and the written replies, though they disavowed any intention of insult or outrage to the factory, were so far from satisfactory, and conveyed in so objectionable a mode, that the committee refused to accept them. Thus the matter rested, and subsequent instructions from England put a stop to all further proceedings on this subject.

The smuggling trade in opium, which the exactions of the Portuguese at Macao drove from that place in 1822 to Lintin, a small island between Macao and the entrance of the Canton river, in

creased with extraordinary rapidity from its commencement, in consequence of the negligence of the Chinese government. This scope (which were at length destined to be pointed) that a surreptitious trade of the same might be extended along the whole coast of the eastward, not only for opium, but for *stolen goods*. The local government of Canton placed itself in so false a position, with respect to the emperor as well as to Europeans, by its long use of secret and corrupt practices in relation to the prohibited drug, that it was even disabled from trying to protect its own subjects at Lintin, where armed smugglers lay in open defiance of all control. Chinese were on several occasions seized on the smuggling ships, with perfect impunity. The relations of the deceased, as usual, appealed to the mandarins; but the anomalous situation of the functionaries, in respect to the Lintin trade, obliged them in the end to evade or relinquinsh demand for satisfaction; and the Company's ties of course disclaimed all responsibility. The proceedings out of the limits of the river, where the smuggling system being connived at by the mandarins themselves, they must take the consequences of their own iniquity.

The attempts to establish a surreptitious trade were soon extended from Lintin to the eastern coast, but the success did not answer expectation. Within the limits of the Canton province, as *all* the trade was expressly prohibited by a long-established ordinance of the country, the mandarins had no same shelter for corrupt practices; and the introduction of opium might be introduced in small quantities. The smuggling trade in manufactures proved a visionary. The conductor of one of these expeditions, in 1831, reported that he could obtain no traffic besides opium; nor had any of the vessels which had gone to the eastward been even *dealt* in other articles, except occasionally a few

re." It soon appeared, in short, that, without the assent of the supreme government of Peking, no prospect existed of an advantageous trade in manufactures, except at Canton.

So much, however, had been both imagined and exerted at home, regarding the facilities for trade at prohibited ports of China, that it seemed desirable to the select committee in 1832 to try a final experiment, in order to prove or disprove what had been given in evidence before parliament. After ascertaining to what extent the disposition of the local authorities on the coast might favour such a trading trade, the next point of inquiry related to ports or stations at which it might most conveniently be carried on. The *Lord Amherst*, a small military ship, was accordingly sent on this service, in charge of one of the Company's servants, who was accompanied by Mr. Gutzlaff, well versed in the Chinese language of China, and especially of the coast. Every possible advantage was thus afforded for the experiment, and the selection of the goods was various, and as well adapted to the occasion, as a previous knowledge of the tastes or wants of the Chinese could suggest. The ship sailed on the 26th February, and did not return until the 4th September. Along other points on the coast, she touched at Foochow and Foochowfoo in Fokien, at Ningpo in Keang, and at Shanghai in Keangnan. On the mainland, Corea and Loo-choo were visited. No device of ingenuity or enterprise was spared to dispose of goods on board, and to establish a traffic with the natives. These showed a very hospitable disposition towards the strangers; but all commerce was effectually prevented by the mandarins, except in one or two trivial instances. Some of the officers of government were civil and forbearing, and even accepted small presents; others, less condescending, were grossly bullied by the people in the *Amherst*, their boats boarded, or their doors knocked down, and their quarters invaded. Still the same vigilance was

exercised to prevent trade, and trade vented.

On the conclusion of the voyage it was the report that "much alarm and suspicion variably been manifested, on the part of governments, at their appearance; and to be mainly attributed the civility which on occasions they experienced." As a commercial expedition, it was observed, the voyage had failed, having "only succeeded in disposing of a portion of the goods shipped." These goods, being intended for experiment only, and not for profit, amounted to about 200 bales in the aggregate, but comprised a variety of articles in demand at Canton. A portion were brought back exactly as they were, of the few things which were not returned a considerable number had been *given away*. The expedition amounted to 5647*l*.

In proceeding to the northward, the *Am* the authorities especially unfriendly and hostile to commerce. "Our sudden appearance on the coast," says Gutzlaff's Journal, "spread general terror." The committee, in their report to the directors, stated the unsatisfactory result of the expedition, and acknowledged that, though the Chinese nation was by no means averse to a more extended intercourse, the government had displayed the most decided opposition. The expedition was, upon that point, condemned by the court; and their animosity were particularly directed against the fictitious characters and false names assumed by those who conducted the voyage. They commented on the inconsistency of the frequent complaints against the conduct of the Chinese, while the English at the same time were presenting themselves in an assumed character, and in direct violation of the laws of the country.

With some it may be a question how far the policy of exclusion practised by the Chinese government justifies such means in order to defeat it; but it can be none whatever with regard to the

violence on the part of individuals, who have themselves attempted no other justification than the extent of the provocation. Among these instances may be mentioned, the shooting of Chinese from the smuggling ships near Lintin in 1831 and 1833, and the notorious case of an English subject, who, by his own confession in the papers, actually set fire to a mandarin's house. There can be no permanent peace or security for either natives or strangers as long as acts like these can be committed with impunity; and, under the circumstances of our anomalous relations with the country, it befits our government to place a very summary controlling power in the hands of whomsoever it appoints as its representative in China.\*

Towards the close of 1833, when the authority of the Company was drawing to an end, and before it had been replaced by any other, the effects were seen in a series of violences that took place not far from Lintin, where some furious engagements occurred with the natives, and one of them was killed. In revenge for this, an unfortunate lascar, belonging to the smuggling ship principally concerned, and who had been taken prisoner by the enraged Chinese, was put to death by them. An organized attack of armed boats from the opium ships was now prepared against the town or village near which the occurrence took place; but the natives were prepared for them, and such a fire was opened from a small fort when the boats made their appearance, that it was thought better to return *quietly*, without attempting to land.

The relatives of the deceased Chinese, not yet satisfied, applied to their government for redress; but the transaction had occurred in connexion with the opium-trade, and the provincial authorities found themselves hampered with the usual difficulties. A singular de-

\* The Duke of Wellington, in his justly-celebrated memorandum (*Bliss Book*, p. 51), observes that such an officer "must have great powers to enable him to control and keep in order the king's subjects."

vice was fallen upon by the Hong merchants:—One of these, by authority of the government, caused to be conveyed to Canton some individual out of a trading junk in the harbour of Macao, who, for a bribe or reward, was to personate the culprit who had shot the Chinese! He was to be imprisoned for a certain time, and previous to his trial was to be furnished with a prepared story which was to acquit him of the murder, and convert the case into one of mere accident or misfortune. Information of this scheme reached the select committee at Canton, who, though they were pretty well assured of the safety of the individual, and quite certain that he was no British subject, still felt themselves bound to address the viceroy, and to protest against these strange proceedings, with which the English name was associated by report. After some trouble and a renewed correspondence, a public edict was issued by the government, declaring that the affair in which the man was said to be involved was accidental, and “assuredly would not lead to the forfeiture of his life;” and it was subsequently understood that he was liberated.

On the 22nd April, 1834, the trade of the East India Company with China, after having lasted just 200 years, terminated according to the provisions of the new Act, and several private ships soon afterwards quitted Canton with cargoes of tea for the British islands. One vessel had, previously to that date, sailed direct for England under a special licence from the authorities of the East India Company. A most important national experiment was now to be tried, the results of which alone could set at rest the grand question of the expediency of free trade against the *Chinese monopoly*; or prove how individual traders were likely to succeed against the union of mandarins and mandarin merchants.



## CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH INTERCOURSE—(*continued*).

IN the evidence before a committee of the House of Commons appointed at the beginning of the year 1830, with reference to the approaching termination of the East India Company's charter, it was clearly stated, as the opinion of some of the most competent witnesses, that the removal of the China trade from the management and control of the Company would be attended by a great increase of smuggling, and by an aggravation of all those circumstances which were calculated to embroil the English with the government of China. One witness plainly declared "the result would be, sooner or later, a war with China, accompanied by wide-spread individual ruin." The report which the committee grounded upon the whole of this evidence was expressed in terms of caution, and by no means recommended an entire subversion of the system under which the British trade with that singular and exclusive people had attained a magnitude and importance unparalleled by that of any other country, even of America and others whose trade was free.

Many prudent and reflecting persons were of opinion that British traders from England might safely be allowed an unlimited access to Canton, as those from India had always been, but that *both* should still be subject to the control of the Company's authorities, who, as the channels of intercourse with the Canton government, should remain undisturbed. This was the opinion and intention of the Duke of Wellington; and when Lord Grey's cabinet subsequently proposed the bill for the entire overthrow of the Company at Canton, with the immediate subversion of the long-esta-

third superintendent until his majesty's pleasure could be known.

On the 23rd July the commission embarked on board H. M. ship *Andromache*, and proceeded to the anchorage at Chuenpee, below the batteries at the Boca Tigris. At noon on the following day the superintendents left his majesty's ship, and proceeded on board the cutter on their way to Canton, where they arrived at two o'clock on the morning of the 25th.

Lord Napier addressed a letter from himself to the viceroy, announcing his arrival according to his instructions; and when this had been translated by Dr. Morrison, the Chinese secretary to the commission, it was despatched to the usual place of delivery, near one of the city gates. Under a variety of pretexts, grounded principally on the wording of the address, the mandarins at the station declined to receive the letter, the real object of the government being to oblige Lord Napier to quit Canton until the emperor's permission for his residence had been obtained. This indeed appears to be an act of sovereignty of which all states are naturally exceedingly tenacious; and the document by which this sanction is communicated is called in Europe an *exequatur*, the issue of which must precede the exercise of any official functions. Though China has never yet been formally recognised by any European state as participating in the rights and obligations of international law, a knowledge of the general principle was shown in those papers from the Chinese government, which declared that Lord Napier's mission should have been announced from England, and the sanction of the Peking court obtained.

It was his lordship's misfortune to be placed from the very first in an impossible position, as regarded the full and immediate exercise of the functions confided to him; but his declining to correspond with the Hong merchants, and his views as to the policy and practicability of a direct communication with the mandarins, have been fully justified by later events.



in Elliot long ago obtained that concession matter of necessity. What had been for-  
 ractised by the Chinese authorities, in their  
 with the Portuguese governor of Macao, .  
 ought to be yielded to the British func-  
 o, not being a merchant, could, in perfect  
 with the Chinese usage, decline receiving  
 mication through the unsuitable channel  
 z merchants, until the mandarins found it  
 to address themselves to him. In fact the  
 l. only two years before, received, in the  
 s manner, a despatch from Lord William  
 ransmitted by the *Challenger* frigate, and  
 d of course as a *letter*, and not a *petition*.  
 merchants, acting as the compulsory agents  
 government, and finding that Lord Napier  
 : nothing to say to them, soon fell upon  
 edient of threatening the stoppage of the  
 savouring by that *argumentum ad crume-*  
 te a division among the English, and set  
 opposed to the measures of his lordship.  
 opily succeeded at length in dividing a  
 which had long contained within itself  
 of dissension; but Lord Napier took the  
 ps to prevent it, if possible. In his de-  
 ie Foreign Office\* of the 14th August, he  
 reference to a requisition from the Hong  
 to the English merchants, calling upon  
 end a meeting of the Hong at the Contoo  
 is appearing to me rather a novel and un-  
 l measure, I immediately called a general  
 ' all British inhabitants, to be held at  
 the superintendents at half-past ten, in  
 liberate on the propriety and the conse-  
 attending such a meeting. Mr. Davis and  
 ressed the meeting, deprecating such an  
 as that proposed; and a draft of the letter  
 g merchants (declining their proposal)

\* *Blue Book*, p. 11

make good any transactions involving British property subsequent to the 16th August, the right honourable the chief superintendent deemed it necessary, on the 5th September, to send for a guard of marines, and to request the senior officer of H. M. ships to proceed with the *Imogene* and *Andromache* to the anchorage of the trade at Whampoa.

Early on the morning of the 7th September we passed the batteries at the Boca Tigris, in working up against a northerly wind; but, under every disadvantage, silenced the fire which was opened on us, with only one man hurt by a splinter, and a few ropes shot away. The wind then failed, and the ships came to an anchor against the ebb-tide below Tiger Island fort. Here they lay in a dead calm until the 9th, when a breeze sprang up, and we weighed to pass Tiger Island. The battery opened its best fire on the frigates; but we passed within pistol-shot, knocking the stones about the ears of the garrison, though with the loss of a man killed in each ship, and a few wounded. Baffling calms again retarded the progress of the frigates, which did not reach Whampoa anchorage until late on the 11th September.

On the arrival of H. M. ships among the merchantmen at Whampoa, the communication between that place and Canton was found to be entirely closed for all purposes of commerce or otherwise; and to the Americans as well as to the English. A negotiation then commenced, in which the local government required the withdrawal of the frigates from the anchorage of the merchantmen, and the retirement of Lord Napier from Canton, previous to the resumption of commercial business. His lordship was therefore induced, on the 15th September, to address a letter to the British community, in which he informed them that, having thus far without effect used every effort to establish the commission at Canton, he did not feel authorised at present, by a continued maintenance of his claims, to occasion the further interruption of the trade of the port. It was therefore arranged that the

frigates should proceed to Lintin; and Lord Napier, whose health was in a very precarious state, embarked in a chop-boat for Macao on the 21st September. On the morning of the 26th his lordship reached that place by the inner passage, his illness having been aggravated by the heat of the weather, and by the delay and annoyances experienced on the passage down.

The viceroy proved for once as good as his word in re-opening the channel of commercial business as soon as the chief commissioner retired from Canton; and the traders were soon fully engaged in loading their ships. In the mean while Lord Napier's illness unhappily increased, and at length, notwithstanding the unremitting care of his family and medical attendants, terminated his existence in the course of a few weeks after his arrival at Macao.

His lordship's successor, Mr. Davis, in writing to the secretary of state, observed, with reference to his own advice of an appeal to Peking, that it might be recommended by such reasons as the following:—first, that no fact was better authenticated than the general ignorance in which the local government kept the court in regard to Canton transactions and its treatment of Europeans; secondly, that Chinese principles sanctioned and invited appeals against the distant delegates of the emperor; thirdly, that a reference of the kind was so successful in 1759 as to occasion the removal of a chief commissioner of customs at Canton, though made by only a subordinate officer of the East India Company. Such an appeal, without previous reference home, was expressly forbidden at the time by the instructions under the sign-manual, and such an appeal has never been made to the present day. It must be made at last, however, in a manner and under circumstances which an earlier adoption might have prevented.

The useless office of master-attendant, now become superfluous by the *abandonment* in England of the *scheme for levying duties on our ships in the Canton*

*river*, was abolished by the chief superintendent, and the late master-attendant, Captain Elliot of the Royal Navy, was appointed by him to the office of secretary to the commission. The severe loss experienced in the recent death of Dr. Morrison, the Chinese secretary (more practically versed in the language than any European), had been supplied by his son; and the services of Mr. Gutzlaff, as joint interpreter, were now secured by transferring to him the salary which had lately been paid to the master-attendant.

Two edicts were in the mean while issued by the Chinese viceroy, in which the English merchants were called upon to elect a temporary Taepan, or commercial chief, to control the English shipping, and prevent the smuggling at Lintin, where nearly forty vessels were now anchored. They were, besides, directed to write home for a Taepan, who was to be a merchant, and not a king's officer; the object of course being to keep the control of the English in the hands of the Hong merchants. No notice whatever was taken of these edicts; as it was clear that the embarrassment which must result to the local government, from the want of some authority to address themselves to, would in time oblige them to recognise the king's commission. This opinion has been completely sanctioned by the event, a direct correspondence with the officers of government having been long since established by Captain Elliot.

When the British trade had continued prosperously for a space of between three and four months, the chief superintendent, in his communications with the secretary of state,\* took a review of the principal occurrences up to that period, as the best ground of an opinion relative to the measures which our government should adopt. "I am aware," he observed, "that two courses of a very opposite nature might have been taken by me in lieu of the one which I

\* Parliamentary Papers, p. 78.

ave pursued, and which, considering that a season of unusual commercial activity and an increased amount of tonnage is now drawing quietly to a close with the monsoon, I see no reason to regret. I might, in the first place, have tried the effect of a measure which has not been without its advocates, and which under very peculiar and favourable circumstances) was successful in 1814; I mean the withdrawal of the ships from the river, and the stoppage of the trade on our part. I do not deny that this might have been productive of considerable embarrassment to the local government for the time; but the ill success of such a course in the season of 1829-30, when the Company's ships were detained for five months to little or no purpose, was a warning which I now do not regret having profited by.

"I might, on the other hand, have adopted the opposite extreme, of an immediate submission to the dictates of the local government, and have proceeded to Canton to place myself under the management of the Hong; but from this I was deterred by the conviction, stated to your lordship in my despatch of the 11th November, that any adjustment ought to take place as the result of a mutual necessity, and that an unbecoming and premature act of submission on our part, under present circumstances, could not fail to prove a fruitless, if not a mischievous, measure.

"It was reasonably hoped by the commission that complete silence and abstinence from all further attempts to negotiate with the Canton government, sending the reference home, might be attended with a favourable effect. The imperial edict forwarded with my despatch of the 2nd instant, in which the blame of the transactions of August and September is thrown on the Hong merchants, and the late troubles attributed to their extortions on the trade, must be viewed as an unequivocal sanction of that opinion. An opportunity is afforded by this imperial document, which his majesty's government may not be inclined to neglect, of making an appeal to the court of Pe-

king against the conduct of its servants at Canton, whose corrupt system in relation to the European commerce tends nearly as much to defraud the emperor of his dues as to discourage and oppress the European trader."

Under the above circumstances, and with positive instructions not to appeal to the court of Peking without a previous reference home, the chief superintendent waited until the latter end of January, and then embarked for England, being succeeded by Sir George Robinson. With a view to securing to his majesty's commission the valuable services of Captain Elliot as one of the superintendents, Mr. Davis waived certain claims which the regulations afforded himself, and resigned entirely his station on embarking, thus causing Captain Elliot to succeed as a member of the commission, according to the general tenor of the sign-manual instructions.

For the space of two years from that date, during 1835 and 1836, public affairs proceeded in uninterrupted quiet, under the charge of Sir George Robinson, who strictly adhered to the principle that no advances should be made towards negotiation but such as were dictated from England. It was the pleasure of the government, however, to leave the commission without any additional instructions or powers, and to take no measures whatever for appealing to Peking, or availing themselves of the opening afforded by the emperor's edict before referred to. The reciprocal commercial interests of English and Chinese fortunately kept affairs tolerably quiet, notwithstanding the doubtful or inadequate powers of the British authorities, and the absence of a ship-of-war to strengthen the hands of the chief commissioner, or, as the duke's memorandum expressed it, "be within his reach." The only remarkable exception to this quiet tenor occurred in the case of a British trader, who, on the seizure of his goods by the Chinese customs, threatened, and was actually proceeding, to procure redress for himself by acts of re-

prison against the Chinese trade. This was fortunately prevented; and a despatch from the Foreign Office, in 1836, declared that if the individual persisted in his intention, "he would be abandoned to the fate which such a course would probably bring upon him; and further, that the commanders of any of his majesty's ships which might fall in with him would be bound to act towards him as the naval instructions require them to act towards pirates."\* Our commercial and political intercourse with China having been restored, a very summary controlling power over British subjects ought to be placed in the hands of the English representative, backed and supported by a naval force.

It is universally allowed that the opening of the trade in 1834 gave an immediate stimulus to smuggling of all kinds, at the expense of the fair trade. In forwarding to the Secretary of State one of those edicts against opium which until then had been regarded as mere waste paper, Mr. Davis observed, "It remains now to be seen whether the native government, having its attention at length awakened by the increased amount of smuggling transactions consequent on the open trade of this season, will endeavour to give greater efficacy to its edicts, and oppose some effectual impediment to the contraband commerce of Lintin."† Just four years afterwards, Captain Elliot, who had succeeded to Sir George Robinson, wrote thus:—"There seems, my lord, no longer any room to doubt that the court has finally determined to suppress, or more probably most extensively to check, the opium trade. The immense, and it must be said the most unfortunate, increase of the supply during the last four years, the rapid growth of the east coast trade in opium, and the continued drain of the silver, have no doubt greatly alarmed the government."

The magnitude of the evil led the Peking government to consider various proposals submitted by

\* *Parliamentary Papers*, p. 126.

† *Ibid.* p. 76

its chief advisers; and the hopes of some persons, not very well acquainted with Chinese principles of government, were at one time confident that the trade would be legalised. A mandarin named Heunaetse advised that a tax should be laid on opium, and that it should be admitted, like other goods, with a duty of about seven dollars a chest, while the expenses of smuggling amounted to at least forty dollars. He argued that the increased severity of the law against opium had only tended to increase the amount of the bribe paid to the official underlings for their connivance; and that the lawless habits of increased smuggling gave rise to a set of desperate villains, who defied authority and became capable of the most atrocious crimes. This argument was specious and conclusive when viewed in the light of expediency alone; but those ill understood the unbending character of Chinese maxims who expected that it would be adopted. "It is a principle of the Chinese government" (said Dr. Morrison long ago) "not to license what they condemn as immoral. I know they glory in the superiority, as to principle, of their own government, and scorn the Christian governments that tolerate these vices, and convert them into a source of pecuniary advantage or public revenue." All that the unfortunate mandarin got by his liberal advice was to be banished into Tartary, and the measures of the imperial government became more decided than ever.

The total amount of English smuggling had not only been much less during the administration of the Company at Canton, but they had the power and the means of effectually excluding it from the interior of the Boca Tigris, and confining it to Lintin and the coast. In this manner, however nefarious the nature of the traffic, and however corrupt the officers of the customs, some external show of decency at least was preserved. But on the subversion of the long-established system, and the substitution of an authority whose powers were both inadequate and imperfectly



defined, it was soon discovered that licence was unbounded, and impunity complete. Captain Elliot observed \* that "the manner of the rash course of traffic *within the river* had probably contributed most of all to impress (on the Chinese government) the urgent necessity of repressing the growing audacity of the foreign smugglers, and preventing their associating themselves with the desperate and lawless of their own large cities." Thus it was the opium-trade *within* the Boca Tigris—not the mere existence of the trade, but the barefaced mode of carrying it on—which exasperated the Peking government. "While," said Captain Elliot in the same despatch, "such a raid existed in the heart of our regular commerce, I had all along felt that the Chinese government had a just ground for harsh measures towards the lawful trade, upon the plea that there was no distinguishing between the right and the wrong." For such cogent reasons that officer repeated, in the most urgent manner, his application to be "vested with defined and adequate powers for the reasonable control of men whose rash conduct could not be left to the operation of Chinese laws without the utmost inconvenience and risk, and whose impunity was alike injurious to British character and dangerous to British interests." But the time had now passed by, and in three months after the above was written the great explosion took place, in the indiscriminate and outrageous imprisonment of all the English at Canton,—all those at least whom a forecast of some coming mischief had not led to decamp in time. But we are anticipating.

The more rigid enforcement of the laws on the smugglers at Lintin, and the other long-established mounds at the outside of the Canton river, had driven the trade into new channels. A great increase took

\* Despatch dated 26th January, 1838. A witness examined in May, 1840, declared with equal candour and truth—"We never paid any attention to any law in China that I recollect."—*Evidence.*

place in the smuggling on the east coast; but the most dangerous result was the growing importation *within* the river, and as far as Whampoa, by means of sampans themselves in their own boats. In this Captain Elliot very early foresaw that the authorities would be driven to some violent measure, in order to which he addressed a memorandum in November 1837, to the government at home, recommending a special commissioner to be sent to Chusan, or other principal point on the coast, away from the influence of the Canton mandarins, for the adjustment of this perilous business. The government, however, declined taking any steps of the kind at present.

If anything had been wanting to add to the aspect which affairs were assuming at Canton at the beginning of 1838, it was to be found in the enormous debt of more than three millions of dollars to the English merchants from two insolvent Chinese merchants, with very little prospect of repayment. The last dollar of a nearly equal amount had been paid up in 1834 to the European creditors, but the influence and power of the East India Company who in fact stopped it from the Hong merchants' accounts; but no such potent means of justice as the Hong monopoly were any longer available to the free trade.\* The Co-Hong had the effort to propose that these new debts to the free traders be paid back in *fifteen* years—that is, in a period when the bonds bearing 12 per cent. interest would more than doubled their capital in interest. After a long and harassing discussion of many months it was settled that between eight and ten years be the period allowed for paying the new debts since the opening of the trade; and to this the English creditors found themselves obliged to assent.

\* "An open trade upon our side, with such an advantage as the Co-Hong on the other, must always be a very unequal state of things to ourselves."—*Captain Elliot's Letters*, p. 340

one of these drew up a very curious paper on the history of the Hong merchants and their debts, in which he recapitulates by saying "that the British merchants who have succeeded to the East India Company, not possessing the advantages of that body's monopoly, and consequent identity of interest and unity of action, are neither in the position to avoid accruing the debts, nor to recover them when due; and that the organs of her majesty's government in China have not as yet possessed the means to acquire moral weight with the local authorities, or Hong merchants, to replace the commercial influence of the East India Company's factory." In consequence of this melancholy and desperate state of things, a debt of about three millions of dollars became due to the English from the Hong merchants, besides the claim for two millions sterling on account of opium seized by Commissioner Lin.

A visit to China on the part of Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, in H. M. ship *Wellesley*, about the period when these debts were under discussion, might have seemed to afford a good opportunity for his powerful interference in behalf of the British merchants; but the "Blue Book" contains nothing to warrant the inference that the admiral discussed this point with the Canton government, or indeed that he had any communication with the viceroy. The *Wellesley* arrived in China on the 12th July, 1838, accompanied by H. M. brig *Algerine*, and the British superintendent immediately joined the admiral, and proceeded with him to the anchorage of Tong-boo Bay, about seven leagues south of the Boca Tigris. An officer soon arrived from the viceroy, in the old form, addressed to the Hong merchants, and forwarded by him. This document was returned unopened, with a message that the strict orders of her majesty's government made such a mode of communication impossible. Captain Elliot then proceeded to Canton, and forwarded to the city gates an open paper for transmission to the governor by a mandarin. The

paper was left open with a view to obviate the difficulty about the use of the character *pin*—a pearl. It was conveyed to the viceroy, but the messenger returned it with a remark from his excellency that he could not take it unless it bore the character of the viceroy. Captain Elliot then declared that he had for no other purpose offered to set forth the peaceful purposes of the admiral's visit, and, if the viceroy did not think proper to accept these explanations, his business at Canton was concluded, and he should forthwith retire. A British boat, meanwhile, passing the Boca Tigris, was stopped upon by the forts; and, when boarded by a man-of-war, was required to state whether the admiral or any other person belonging to him was there, as they should be permitted to pass up. Sir Frederick, on being informed of this insult, remarked that he had come to China with a determination to avoid the least violation of customs or prejudices; but that he was nevertheless resolved to bear no indignity to the flag, and accordingly proceeded forthwith to the Boca Tigris with the vessels under his command, to demand a formal disavowal of these unprovoked attacks. A civil letter was soon received from the Chinese admiral Kwan (since discomfited in action with the *Porpoise* and *Hyacinth*), asking the reason of Admiral Elliot's visit; and, in reply to this, a demand was made for reparation on account of the late insult. The result was, the mission of a mandarin captain of junk to wait upon the British admiral, accompanied by one of less rank; and the expressions of disavowal of any intention to insult were written at the dictation of the higher officer by the hand of the other on board the *Wellesley* in the presence of the several passengers. Sir Frederick Maitland signified his satisfaction at this declaration, and after the exchange of courtesies, returned to his former anchorage, and afterwards sailed away.

In two months after the departure of the *Wellesley* another outbreak took place, as the result of that system of smuggling within the Boca Tigris and

run up since the commencement of free-trade. A seizure of opium was made at Canton, the property of a British trader, and immediately in front of the river. The individual and the ship from which the opium came were ordered out of the river at a given time, and the unhappy Hong-merchant boarded the ship, though perfectly unconscious of the act, underwent the severe punishment of the flogging, or wooden collar. When the individual had withdrawn himself, the ship had been stopped in the mean while, was to be resumed.

The government would seem to have been irritated by the concurrence into one of its barbarous outrages of a feeling, with a view probably to intimidate the smugglers in their desperate courses in the limits of the river.\* Only a few days after what was above mentioned, the foreigners were astonished by a sudden preparation, in the immediate vicinity of the factories, for the arrest of a native opium-dealer. It was at once attempted to resist this unprecedented and intolerable interference. They succeeded in chasing away the carnifex and his apparatus. The considerable crowd that had assembled evinced no unfriendly feelings towards the foreigners, but (as the despatch stated) from a general concurrence, rather than from any particular animosity.

When, however, the crowd had become very dense, some rash foreigners provoked the mob by forcibly pushing in amongst them, and beating them with sticks. They returned this with stones and other violence, and in a few minutes the Europeans were driven within the gates of their respective factories, which were immediately closed. But the fury of the crowd, consisting at this time of some thousands, was excited to a degree that produced tragical results; until the Chinese soldiers succeeded in dispersing the mob, while the criminal

\* *Blue Book*, p. 324.

executed at one of the usual places. "All these desperate hazards" (the despatch observes) "were incurred for the scrambling and comparatively insignificant gains of a few reckless individuals, unquestionably founding their conduct upon the belief that they were exempt from operation of all law, British or Chinese."\*

The inconvenience and danger were so imminent, that the chief superintendent called a meeting, at which many foreigners besides English voluntarily attended. He felt bound to say "that the present chiefs originated in the existence of an extensive traffic in opium, conducted in small boats within the river. The results were the actual interruption of the inland trade: the seizure and punishment of innocent persons; the distressing degradation of the foreign character; and the certainty that the illegal and violent traffic would fall into the hands of the desperate, the idle, and probably the convicted of all the countries connected with China." A notice was accordingly issued to the small smuggling craft in the river begging them to the English, that they must proceed outside within three days, and the superintendent at the same time offered his co-operation to the government for the purpose of putting a stop to the river smuggling. It was on this occasion that he obtained from the emperor the important concession of a direct communication with the mandarins, without the intervention of the Hong merchants. And yet one or two individuals have been found to declare that the Chinese government was not really determined to put down river smuggling, not even when it went to the length of executing a man before the factories!

The stagnation of the opium-traffic for some months proved that the proceedings against both smugglers and consumers were sufficiently effective, and a report soon spread that a very high officer from the court, bearing the summary powers of a Kin-chae, or

\* Blue Book, p. 327.

special Imperial Commissioner, was soon to be sent to Canton. Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, significantly hinted that unusually strong measures would be taken by this new functionary, and dwelt upon the manifold mischiefs of the trade, particularly on the alarming character of the late inside traffic, asking the British superintendent what his government would do under such circumstances? Captain Elliot answered that no such state of things could happen in England; and that the present evils had not only been induced by the venality of the highest officers, but had been put down by his own proceedings, as far as those could operate. Howqua concluded by saying that some strong official communication on the subject must be expected as soon as the high commissioner arrived.

A proclamation was in the mean while issued by the local government in January, 1839, not through the Hong merchants, but addressed directly to the foreigners,—a remarkable and unusual proceeding,—furnishing strong evidence of the earnest feelings of the court. It was required that the receiving ships on the outside should be all sent away under the penalty of hostile measures. The high commissioner's approach was announced, and it was declared that, though the axe should break in his hand, or the boat should sink from beneath him, yet would he not stay his efforts until the work was completed."

The arrival of the high commissioner was immediately preceded by a native opium-smuggler being only brought down into the square before the main factories, accompanied by a considerable force of troops, and there publicly strangled! All the foreign flags at Canton were hauled down, and references made to which no answer was returned. Prior to this event until the commissioner's arrival, rumors of every description were afloat, but the general opinion was, that he would proceed forthwith to land and commence his operations from thence. Immediately after his arrival, a considerable force was assembled, and boats of war collected, and under the

forts at the Boca Tigris a display of old native vessels preparing to serve as fire-ships. On the 24th March it appeared that the storm had changed direction, and impended over the whole foreign community at Canton in the most alarming form.

On his arrival, Commissioner Lin far surpassed his measures the most formidable apprehensions had preceded him. He immediately issued an edict to the foreigners, demanding that every pound of opium on board the ships should be delivered to the government, in order to its being burned and destroyed. At the same time a bond was required from the foreign and Chinese languages, that "the signatories should hereafter never again dare to bring on board, and that, should any be brought, the goods should be forfeited, and the parties suffer death; moreover, should such punishment would be willingly submitted to." He plainly threatened that, if his requisitions were not complied with, the foreigners would be overwhelmed by numbers, and sacrificed; but at the same time made some vague promises of reward to those who obeyed.

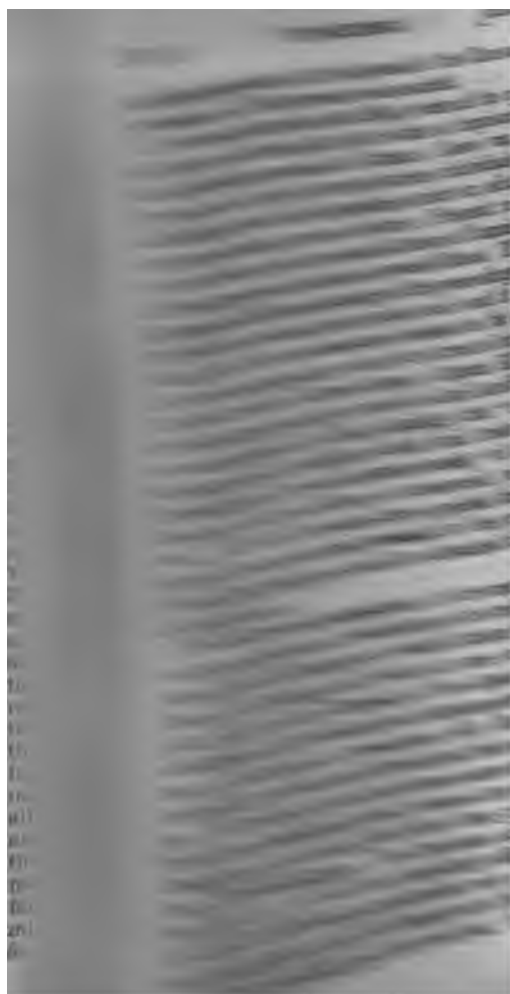
On the first hearing of the proceedings at Canton the British superintendent, always present where there was any difficulty called him, hurried up in the gig of the ship *Larne*, and made his way to the factories in the evening of the 24th March, notwithstanding the efforts made to stop him. The state of intense excitement in which he found the whole foreign community may be estimated by stating that the actual proof of the difficulty was the obstinate demand that Mr. Dent, one of the most respectable English merchants, should proceed into the city, and attend the commissioner's tribunal. Captain Elliot's first step was to go to Mr. Dent's house, and convey him in person to the hall of the superintendents. He immediately communicated to the Chinese his readiness to let Mr. Dent go into the city with himself, and upon the stipulation, under the commissioner's seal, that he should never to be moved out of his sight. The



reign community were then assembled, and exhorted to be moderate and calm. On the same night the five servants were taken away and the supplies cut off, the reason given being the opposition to the commissioner's summons. An arc of boats was formed, led with armed men, the extremes of which touched the east and west banks of the river in front of the storerooms. The square between, and the rear, were occupied in considerable force; and before the gate to the hall the whole body of Hong merchants and a large guard were posted day and night, the latter with their swords constantly drawn. So close an imprisonment is not recorded in the history of our previous intercourse.

Under these circumstances, the British superintendent issued a most momentous circular to his countrymen, requiring the surrender into his hands of all the English opium actually on the coast of China at that time. In undertaking this immense responsibility, he did not doubt that the safety of a great mass of human life hung upon his determination. Had he commenced with the denial of any control on the occasion, the Chinese commissioner would have seized the pretext for reverting to his measures of intimidation against individual merchants, obviously his original object, but which Captain Elliot's sudden appearance had disturbed. He would have forced the whole submission by the protracted confinement of the vessels he had determined to seize, and, judging from his proclamation and general conduct, by the sacrifice of their lives.

On the 3rd April it was agreed that the deputy superintendent should proceed down the river with mandarins and Hong merchants, and deliver over to the commissioner 20,283 chests of opium from the stock which were assembled for that purpose below the Tigris. The imprisonment and blockade in Canton while remained undiminished at Canton, attempts were made to extort from the foreigners *what, by which their lives and property would*



it Canton himself until the 25th May, when the proscribed individuals had left that place in and the persons of no other British subjects in jeopardy.

A view of the conduct and proceedings of the superintendent through this eventful scene of it is not easy to deny the truth of the high encompassed on that officer by the best of judges, the of Wellington himself. In the debate of the day, in the House of Lords, his grace observed, reference to the immense responsibility incurred safety of British subjects, that Captain Elliot rendered a service for which this country and government owed him thanks, an act of courage and devotion such as few men had ever had an opportunity of showing, and probably still fewer would show." The duke might well add that "he never known a person filling a high station in a country treated in such a manner as Captain Elliot had been treated by the authorities of the government at Canton."

In the month of July the English traders were most numerous resident at Macao, and a large fleet of merchantmen lay at Hong-kong. It was obviously impossible to trust to the faith of so perfidious a functionary as Commissioner Lin, who had violated, one by one, all his promises during the progress of delivering up the opium, and kept the British superintendant and countrymen confined for six weeks, in the vain effort to obtain the bond by which they were to commit themselves up to the future mercy of the government.

The commissioner remained at Canton, not willing to leave that province until he could report a successful resumption of the regular British trade at Amoy. His anxiety to accomplish this prime object of his hopes was betrayed by repeated papers sent to the English, who, however, felt no disposition to place themselves once more within the grasp of a man who set himself above the ordinary



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*Pearl*, with three large Chinese  
intercepting provisions from  
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failure of ammunition, not having come prepared for actual conflict. The junks, however, had suffered, and were presently seen to weigh and make sail for the purpose of escaping through an adjacent outlet. By this time cartridges had been made, and the boats, bearing up, succeeded in beating the junks back to their former position. In the evening the *Volage* arrived at the bay, and the three boats joined her. During the night, however, it was agreed not to proceed in the morning to destroy the three junks; and this was the only unfortunate feature of the affair, being calculated to make the Chinese ascribe their forbearance to wrong motives.

A disquieting occurrence on the 8th September for some time kept the English fleet in painful suspense. The master of the British armed schooner *Psyche* imprudently left the harbour of Hong-kong without orders, taking with him fifteen people, to reconnoitre a passage in the immediate vicinity, said to be occupied by war-junks. No time was lost on the following day, when his absence became known, in sending boats to make inquiries, but without success; and as there appeared every reason to suppose that the parties, sixteen in number, had fallen into the hands of the Chinese, the urgent nature of the case led the chief superintendent and Captain Smith of the *Volage* to declare the Boca Tigris in a state of blockade until the men were delivered up. Before the period of the blockade arrived, however, the boat and her crew returned in safety. A strong adverse tide had caught them in the narrow passage they purposed to explore, and, observing a considerable force in the rear, they had pushed on through the opposite outlet, and succeeded in reaching Macao, though after a long passage, and in a very exhausted state, having neither provisions nor sails with them. The blockade was accordingly withdrawn.

Towards the end of October there was a prospect of a temporary adjustment of difficulties, so far as to admit of the commerce being carried on below the Boca

igris, until further instructions had been received from England. The British community were returning to Macao, and the ships to Chuenpee in order to deliver their cargoes. There was no departure whatever from the principle that it was impossible to deliver up a man to be tried by the Chinese, or to sign a bond of consent for the capital punishment of the queen's subjects by the mandarins.

But all this was doomed to be frustrated. On the 14th November the chief superintendent wrote thus to the Foreign Office:—"A different and unhappy turn of affairs has been brought about, and I am grieved to report that this serious public mischief is attributable to the conduct of a British subject, Mr. Warner, master of the ship *Thomas Coutts*. Upon his arrival from Singapore, Mr. Warner did not repair to Hongkong, but demanded his pilot, and proceeded to the Boca Tigris, signed the required bond of consent to the new laws, involving the infliction of capital punishment by Chinese forms of trial, and the ship was immediately carried up to Whampoa." A committee of British merchants had previously stated their apprehension "that the circumstance of one English ship, the *Thomas Coutts*, Captain Warner, having actually proceeded inside the Boque, in violation of the injunctions of her majesty's chief superintendent, and the fact of the captain having signed the bond required by the Chinese government, might occasion delays and difficulties in the proposed trade outside, which would never have arisen had all the English remained firm, as they had hitherto done."

The consequence was a determination on the part of the commissioner to break off his concluded arrangement, and a demand for the entrance of the whole British shipping on the same terms as the *Thomas Coutts*; or their departure in three days, under menaces of destruction if they remained. It was soon Captain Elliot's task to report the most serious colli-

\* *Additional Parliamentary Papers*, p. 8.

sion which had ever taken place between our navy and the Chinese force, if we except perhaps the passage of the Boca Tigris in 1834. Finding that the Chinese were preparing for aggressive measures against the fleet, and that Admiral Kwan was in considerable force near Chuenpee, the chief superintendent recommended to Captain Smith the immediate removal of the *Volage* and *Hyacinth* to that neighbourhood, and a moderate but firm address to the commissioner. This measure was calculated to ascertain the actual extent of preparation, and her majesty's ships could be in no more suitable or imposing situation than in sight of the batteries, and under the immediate observation of the commissioner.

Captain Elliot accordingly repaired on board the *Volage* frigate on the 28th October; but strong adverse winds retarded their arrival until the morning of the 2nd November, when her majesty's ships were anchored about a mile below the first battery, where an imposing force of war-junks and fire-vessels was collected. A lieutenant, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, was despatched to the admiral's junk with the address to the commissioner. They were civilly received, and the admiral replied that he would forward the paper to their excellencies then in the neighbourhood, and send the answer next day. He also expressed a wish that the ships should move down a little farther, which Captain Smith immediately did, with the intention to prove his peaceful disposition. In the course of the same evening a linguist was despatched to the ships with a verbal message, requesting that Mr. Morrison might be sent on board the admiral's junk. It was answered, that the written address contained all that was to be said, and for the present such a visit was inexpedient.

In the forenoon of the 3rd an officer of some rank anchored at a short distance from the ships, and again sent the linguist to desire Mr. Morrison might come to them: in reply to which the previous message was repeated. About this time the Chinese squadron,



under the command of the admiral, broke ground, and stood out towards her majesty's ships, which were immediately got under weigh, and directed towards the approaching force. As soon as this proceeding was observed, the squadron anchored in good order to the number of twenty-nine sail, and her majesty's ships were hove to; while a short correspondence ensued, in which the Chinese were peremptory in demanding the delivery of an Englishman, and refused to retire.

Captain Smith now very properly declared that he did not feel himself warranted in leaving this formidable flotilla at liberty to pass inside of him at night, and carry into effect the menaces against the merchant vessels; and thinking that the retirement of her majesty's ships before a force, moved out with the palpable intention to intimidate, was not compatible with the honour of the flag, he resolved to constrain their return to their former anchorage. At noon, therefore, the signal was made to engage, and the ships, then lying hove to at the extreme end of the Chinese line, bore away ahead in close order, having the wind on the starboard beam. In this way, and under easy sail, they ran down the Chinese line, pouring in a destructive fire. The lateral direction of the wind enabled the ships to perform the same evolution from the other extreme of the line, running up again with their larboard broadsides bearing. The Chinese answered with much spirit, but the terrible effect of the English fire was soon manifest. One war-junk blew up at pistol-shot distance from the *Voiege*, three were sunk, and several others waterlogged. The admiral's conduct is said to have been worthy of his station. His junk was evidently better manned and armed than the others; and after having weighed, or perhaps cut or slipped his cable, he bore up and engaged her majesty's ships in handsome style. In less than three-quarters of an hour, however, he and the remainder of his squadron were *retiring in great distress to their former anchorage, and,*

as Captain Smith was not disposed to protract destructive hostilities, he offered no obstruction to retreat. It is to be feared, however, that this clemency was thrown away upon the Chinese, who have no conception of the true principles of such forbearance. Subsequent facts show that they actually claimed victory. This they perhaps founded on the circumstance of her majesty's ships making sail for Macao for the purpose of covering the embarkation of English who might see fit to retire from that place, and of providing for the safety of the merchant ships. On the 4th November the *Volage* joined the fleet at Hong-kong, and the *Hyacinth* was left at Macao to watch events in that quarter.

It was time that the Chinese should receive a lesson as the foregoing, for not long prior to it they had robbed and burned a Spanish brig, the *Bilbo*, utterly unconnected with opium, under the plea that she was an English vessel, though her proper flag was flying. As that brig lay at anchor in the Tayi harbour pertaining to Macao, she was surprised at day-break by four war-junks and several fire-rafts accompanied by a number of mandarin boats, whose crews entered the brig, robbed her of everything on board, and then set fire to her. The Spanish captain was carried off in chains, with one of the sailors, while the rest of the crew saved their lives by jumping overboard. The Chinese carried away the bodies with them; and the Spanish consular agent at Macao was denied all redress for this gratuitous and unjustifiable outrage.

The discomfiture of Admiral Kwan's squadron soon followed by the refusal of all trade to the English with China; but, for some months, the Americans continued to tranship goods and carry them up the Canton, bringing back cargoes of tea on British boats, which were shipped for England on the outlet of the Boca Tigris. This at length attracted attention, and the emperor's edict, cutting off the commerce of the English, was enforced to the utmost, by a

intercourse to such American ships as transhipped  
there. The local government went so far as to purchase  
several ships—rather to act as floating batteries,  
than to be added to the emperor's squadron of war-ships.  
Their sense of their own weakness, on the one  
hand, was proved by Admiral Kwan not risking  
another victory as that for which he had been  
rewarded, but keeping very close to the forts at  
Amoy, notwithstanding several attempts to  
drive him out. The Governor-general of India was  
invested with full powers to declare war, and direct  
operations; and it remains only to await the result of  
this important and momentous enterprise, next  
in conquest of India itself, in which the British  
have ever been engaged to the eastward of the  
Good Hope.\*

Davis's Narrative of the English intercourse with  
China is brought down to the end of the year 1839. The  
war which ensued in 1840, 1841, and 1842 terminated in a  
Treaty of Peace. We shall give as an Appendix  
a History of Affairs in China, from 1831 to the Signature  
of the Treaty of Nanking.

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## CHAPTER V.

## GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CHINA.

THIS chapter will be principally devoted to a succe view of the chief geographical features of C Proper, under which may be included, on accoun their unparalleled magnitude, and the important tions which they hold in the maps of the countr particular description of the *Imperial Canal*, an the *Great Wall*. The scientific skill of the Jesuit sionaries accomplished a survey of the whole of fine country on trigonometrical principles, so adrbly correct as to admit of little improvement; with the exception of the British possessions in In there is no part of Asia so well laid down as Chin

Since the time of the Jesuits' survey, however, alteration has taken place in the divisions of the ctry. The provinces of China, which then consiste fifteen in all, have been increased, by the subdivi of three of the largest, to eighteen. Keang-nân been split into Keang-soo and Gân-hoey, Hoo-ku into Hoo-nân and Hoo-pe, and the western par Shen-sy has been extended, and called Kân-so. Th eighteen provinces constitute a compact area, exteing (if we leave out the island of Haenân) from ab 21° to 41° of north latitude, and measuring in extre length from north to south about 1200 geograph miles, with an average breadth from east to wes nearly 20° of longitude, or something less than extent north and south. Perhaps no country in world, of the same magnitude, can be considered u the whole as more favoured in point of climate. Be situated, however, on the eastern side of a great c tinent, China follows the general rule which obser

tioned in attributing to regions so placed both cold and heat at opposite seasons of which its precise position in regard to latitude not lead us to expect. In the month of near Peking, Lord Amherst's embassy thermometer occasionally above  $90^{\circ}$ ; while solid blocks of ice, which were at the same time about for use, and exposed on the stalls, showed the severity of the cold in winter. In the month of July, and at  $35^{\circ}$  latitude, the temperature of the water at 40 fathoms was found to be  $65^{\circ}$ , while that of the air was  $80^{\circ}$  and  $90^{\circ}$ . Even at Canton, the southern extremity of the empire, and nearly in the latitude of Peking, mercury frequently falls below freezing the nights of January, while in summer, though not often, rises to  $100^{\circ}$ . Considering these apparent extremes of heat and cold, the climate must be generally characterised as temperate—a circumstance no doubt arising from the extension of cultivation and the influence of the sea—a confirmation of the observations of M. de Humboldt in his treatise of Isothermal Lines, it may be seen that the French missionaries were struck by the difference which the climate and products of China and Tartary bore to those of the eastern North America; and that the wild plant which is a monopoly of the emperor in the empire, has been imported in large quantities, by the American ships, to the great use of the Chinese.

The surface of China is varied in elevation, rising in terraces from the sea towards the interior. It would seem, at the same time, to be composed of very remarkable height. The principal mountains consist of two. One of these extends along the borders of Kuei-chow and Yunnan, passing to the north of Canton province, and is cut through the Mei-ling pass, which is described in both our embassies: it then

takes a north-east direction through Fokien, & terminates in Che-keang. The larger portion of the ridge to the north-west of Canton province forms an inaccessible country (at least to the native government) of the Meaou-tse, who have never been entirely submitted to the Tartars. Even in Chinese maps the country is left a *blank*. The second principal range of mountains extends from Sse-chuen to Shen-sing, following the Yellow River to make an abrupt bend westwards through the Great Wall. There are, in fact, mountains of considerable elevation westward of the wall, towards Shân-sy province, but the plain which they rise above is little raised above the sea.

The two principal rivers of China occupy a high rank in the geographical history of the country. Taking the Thames as a unit, Major Rennell estimates the proportions of the Yangtse-keang and the Yellow River at fifteen and a half and thirteen and a half respectively, and they are secondary only to the Amazon and the Mississippi. The Yangtse-keang, or the "son of the sea," has been by some people styled the Blue River, but there is no such name for it in Chinese. It rises in Kokonor, the lake between Thibet and China, not far from the source of the Yellow River; turning suddenly south, it makes an abrupt bend through the provinces of Yun-nan and Sse-chuen, where it takes the name of the "Gilded River;" and then flowing north-east and then subsequently makes a gentle bend southward, it receives the superfluous waters of the Tong-tin, the largest lake of China; thence, in its course towards the sea, it serves as a discharger to a large lake, the Poyang Hoo, in Keang-sy province, after which it runs nearly north-east, and flows into the ocean, which it reaches at about the thirty-second parallel of latitude. The great stream runs with such a strong and prevailing ebb, that Lord Amherst's embassy found great difficulty in sailing up its course towards the Poyang, being unable to make any way at all, except

easterly breeze. The flood tide was felt in Kuachow, below Nanking.\*

The River rises also in the country of Koko, turning as abruptly north as the Keang; it passes across the Great Wall and makes good the territory of the Ortous; passing across the wall, it flows due south, and beyond the boundary of Shân-sy and Shen-sy; whence it flows eastward and reaches the sea in latitude 36°. From the excessive rapidity of its stream, it is nearly unnavigable through its greater length. On the old maps of China the Yellow River is represented as flowing into the gulf of Peking of the Shan-tung promontory. If, then, the direction of the canal under Koblai Khan, whose course was turned, it is possible that this nature has occasioned the constant recurrence of dreadful accidents which attend the use of its artificial, but ill-constructed banks. It is a source of perpetual anxiety and expense to the government; and there is a large number of merchants at Canton expressly on account of it.

The enormous quantity of mud held in solution by the waters of the Yellow River (whence it carries vast depositions at its mouth which tend to lessen the depth of water. It is remarkable that the two great rivers of China, which rise at a distance from each other, after taking opposite directions, north and south, and being separated by a distance of full fifteen degrees of latitude, should both empty within two degrees of the same point. The Yellow River, south of the promontory of Peking, is generally bold and rocky, except at the mouth where the Yellow River and Yangtse-keang meet. The province of Peking is a sandy plain, and the gulf which skirts it extremely shallow, so

\* "grain-bearing" canal leads to Peking, and it could *probably make its way* to this point, and

tung, and continues beyond the Yellow River. The principal river that feeds it is the *Wun-ho*, rising from the Taeshan in Shan-tung, and falling into the canal at its highest elevation, in a line perpendicular to its course. The waters of the river, striking with force against a strong bulwark of stone that supports the western bank, part of them flow to the northward, and part southward; at this point is the temple of the "dragon king," or genius of the watery element, who is supposed to have the canal in his special keeping.

One principal merit of this great work is its acting as a drain to the swampy country through which it flows, from Tien-tsin to the Yangtse-keang. Being carried through the lowest levels, and communicating with the neighbouring tracts by flood-gates, it has rendered available much that would otherwise be an irreclaimable swamp. As it is, however, some individuals of the embassy, in passing through this desolate flat in 1816, were laid up with intermittents of rather malignant type. The large city of Hoae-gan-foo, near the Yellow River, extends for about three miles very much below the level of the canal. In passing along its dilapidated walls, upon which we looked down from our boats, it was impossible not to shudder at the idea of any accident occurring to the banks of the canal, as the total destruction of the town must be certain. Near this point resides the Ho-tsoong, or surveyor-general of the river, who has charge of its banks.

Many readers will be aware that to the period of Yaou, something more than 2000 years before our era, the Chinese carry back their tradition of an extensive flood, which by some persons has been identified with the universal deluge recorded in the Old Testament. After a careful examination of their own written accounts, we feel persuaded that this deluge of the Chinese is described rather as interrupting the *business of agriculture* than as involving a general *destruction of the human race*. It is observed, in the book



[ Mencius (ch. v.), that the great Yu “ opened nine channels : Yu was eight years abroad regulating the waters.” This could hardly mean the universal deluge, and in fact seems to have been some aggravation only of the natural condition of those low countries through which the Yellow River and canal now flow. Were they both of them to burst their banks at present, the deluge of Yaou would be repeated. It was for his merit in draining the country, or drawing off the waters of the inundation, that the great Yu was so celebrated.

To return to the canal. Many persons, and among the rest Dr. Abel, have not been disposed to estimate very highly the labour and ingenuity displayed in the construction of that artificial channel. He observes, “ This famous monument of industry, considered simply as a channel of communication between different parts of the empire, appears to have been somewhat overrated as an example of the immense power of human labour and of human art. In every part of its course it passes through alluvial soil, readily penetrated by the tools of workmen, and is intersected by numerous streams. It would be difficult to find any part of it carried through twenty miles of country undisturbed by tributary rivers. The sluices which keep its necessary level are of the rudest construction : buttresses formed of blocks of stone, with grooves fitted with thick planks, are the only locks of the Imperial Canal. It is neither carried through any mountain, nor over any valley.” Much of this is certainly true, and confirmed by the observation of Du Halde, that “ in all that space there were neither hills, quarries, nor rocks which gave the workmen any trouble either to level or penetrate.” But if the canal is admitted to be a work of high national utility in more respects than one, the simplicity of the means, by which the end was attained, can scarcely be considered to derogate from its merit : it would seem, on the contrary, to be a proof of the sagacity with which the canal was formed.

The following account of the process of the Yellow River, at the point where it is joined by the canal, is given from two unpublished reports of the last embassy. "On our left (proceeding west) was a stream called the 'New Salt River' like the canal, opened into the Yellow River on our right we had for several days very close view of the Yellow River itself, which just before this junction with the canal suddenly turns north-east after having run in a south-easterly direction. After we had been a short time at anchor, during an interval some of the chief mandarins visited the ambassador, we all got under weigh, and prepared to cross the famous Hoang-ho. All the boats, on entering the river, struck right across the stream without any order, and gained the opposite bank in less than an hour. The weather being fine and moderate, the water perfectly smooth, our boatmen were particularly particular in the observance of their ceremonial obligations on the passage of the river as those of the last embassy; but every boat, I believe, burnt a few pieces of gilt paper, and let off a volley of crackers in honour of the occasion. The breadth of the river at this part was about three-quarters of a mile, the current of the stream north-east by east, with a velocity of three or four miles per hour, but the water was much more muddy or yellow, at this point, than has been observed in the Pei-ho and elsewhere.

"The stream was certainly violent, and we went down a considerable way before we could reach the opposite bank, which was lined with a great number of boats of various shapes and dimensions, many of them being constructed exactly in the form of boxes. Many of these were stationary, and were made with the straw or stalk of the *holcus sorghum* with coarse reeds, ready to be transported to any parts of the river and canal for the repair of them. This assemblage of boats, though the greatest yet noticed in this part of China, bore no comparison to what may be daily seen in the river of

When the current had carried us down some distance to the eastward, we had a mile or two to reascend the river, before we came to the opening through which we were to pursue our route to the south; and the passage in the vicinity of the bank, to which we kept on account of the current, was so obstructed with boats, that this was not effected under four hours from our first getting under weigh. The worst part was now to come in passing through a sluice, on the hither side of which the water, which had been confined in its passage through the abutments, raged with such fury as to suck down large floating substances in its eddies. This sluice upon a large scale was near one hundred yards across, and through it the waters rushed into the river, at a rate of not less than seven or eight miles an hour. The projecting banks at the sides were not constructed of stone-work, but entirely of the straw or reeds already mentioned, with earth intermixed, and strongly bound with cordage.

"Through this opening or sluice, and in close contact with the bank on our left, our boats were successively dragged forward by ropes communicating with several large windlasses, which were worked upon the bank: by these means the object was slowly accomplished, without the least damage or accident. After thus effecting a passage through the sluice, we found ourselves nearly in still water; not yet however in the southern division of the great canal, as we had expected, but in the main stream of another large river, hardly inferior in breadth to that which we had quitted. We were told it communicated at no great distance with the great lake Hoong-tse Hoo, to the right of our course. The stream by which this lake discharges its waters into the Yellow River is marked on all the maps of China, but represented as totally distinct and unconnected with the grand canal. It seems evident, therefore, that the course of the navigation has been latterly altered here, either from the overflowing of the Yellow River or some other cause. That a change has taken place seems indicated by the

name 'New Salt River,' on the other side of the stream of the Hoang-ho.

"Entered the southern division of the great wall. A great deal of labour and contrivance has been employed here in constructing the embankment regulating the course of the waters. In the two or three artificial bays or basins have been allowed out in the bank of the river, where, proceeding to the southward assemble in succession to wait their turn to pass. There are then narrow passes, or imperfect sluices, subsequent to the first opening that leads from the river to the south, having also broad basins between them, and dykes constructed, as before, with the straw matting confined with cordage. The object of this system of sluices, with the basins between, seems in principle similar to that of the locks on our own canals.

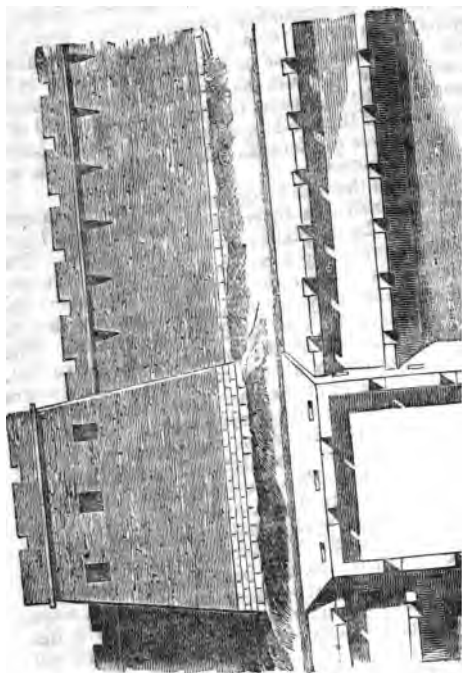
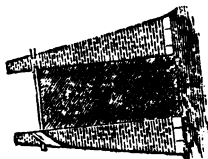
The important figure which the Great Wall in the maps of China entitles this vast artificial barrier to be considered in a geographical point of view. We have already stated that it was built by the universal monarch of China, about 200 years before the commencement of the Christian era, more than 2000 years from this time. It extends along the whole north of China, along the frontiers of the provinces, extending from the shore of the Gulf of Pecheli,  $34^{\circ}$  east of Peking, to Syning,  $15^{\circ}$  west of the capital. The emperors of the Ming dynasty have added an additional inner wall, near to Peking, on which may be perceived on the map, an enclosure of the province between itself and the Great Wall. From the eastern extremity of the Great Wall is an extensive stockade of wooden piles, enclosing the country of Moungden, and this has, in some European maps, been erroneously represented as a continuation of the solid barrier.

The gentlemen of Lord Macartney's embassy had the good fortune to pass into Tartary by the most entire portions of the wall, and a very close examination of the structure was made.

Parish. On the first distant approach, it is described as resembling a prominent vein or ridge of quartz, standing out from mountains of gneiss or granite. The continuance of this line over the mountain-tops arrested the attention, and the form of a wall with battlements was soon distinctly discerned. It was carried over the ridges of the highest hills, descended into the deepest valleys, crossed upon arches over rivers, and was doubled in important passes, being, moreover, supplied with massy towers or bastions at distances of about 100 yards. One of the most elevated ridges crossed by the wall was 5000 feet above the level of the sea. It far surpasses, in short, the sum total of all other works of the kind, and proved a useful barrier until the power of Zenghis Khan overthrew the empire of the Chinese.

The body of the wall \* consists of an earthen mound, retained on each side by walls of masonry and brick, and terraced by a platform of square bricks. The total height, including a parapet of five feet, is twenty feet, on a basis of stone projecting two feet under the brick-work, and varying in height from two feet to more, according to the level of the ground. The thickness of the wall at the base is twenty-five feet, diminishing to fifteen at the platform. The towers are forty feet square at the base, diminishing to thirty at the top, and about thirty-seven feet in total height. At particular spots, however, the tower was of two stories, and forty-eight feet high. The bricks are, as usual in China, of a *bluish* colour, about fifteen inches long, half that in width, and nearly four inches thick; probably the whole, half, and quarter of the Chinese *Chê*, or coid. The blue colour of the bricks led to a doubt of their having been burned; but some ancient kilns were observed near the wall, and, since then, the actual experiment of Dr. Abel in 1816 has proved that the brick-clay of the Chinese, which is red

\* See plan, section, and elevation, from folio plates to Embassy.



[Plan, elevation and section of the Great Wall]

at first, burns blue. The thinness of the parapet of the wall, about eighteen inches, justifies the conclusion that it was not intended to resist cannon: indeed the Chinese themselves claim no such antiquity for the invention of fire-arms. The above description confirms, upon the whole, that of Gerbillon, about a century before. "It is generally," says he, "no more than eighteen, twenty, or twenty-five geometrical feet high, but the towers are seldom less than forty."

The same missionary, however, informs us that beyond the Yellow River to its western extremity, or for full one-half of its total length, the wall is chiefly a mound of earth or gravel, about fifteen feet in height, with only occasional towers of brick. Marco Polo's silence concerning it may therefore be accounted for by the supposition that, having seen only this imperfect portion, he did not deem it an object of sufficient curiosity to deserve particular notice; without the necessity of imagining that he entered China from the westward, to the south of the great barrier.

As a minute geographical description of each province of the empire would be out of place in this work, we will notice generally the points most deserving of attention in all, commencing with those which lay in the route of the British embassies. The flat, sandy, and sterile province in which Peking is situated offers little worthy of notice. The vast plain which surrounds the capital is entirely devoid of trees, but wood is procured from that long hilly promontory of Tartary, which forms the eastern boundary of the gulf of Lemoutung, and was named by Sir Murray Maxwell, the "regent's sword." The most considerable town, next to Peking, is Tien-tsin, though it does not rank as a city: it forms the *trivium*, or point of junction between the canal, the capital, and the sea. Here are seen the immense piles of hills of salt described by Mr. Barrow, this being the *dépôt* for the salt provided for the enormous consumption of Peking, and manufactured along the marshy borders of the sea. On entering the adjoining province of Shan-tung to

the south, the attention is soon drawn to the commencement of the *canal*; and on the lakes, or rather extensive swamps, through which it is carried, are seen the fishing corvorants, birds which will be more particularly described hereafter, exercising their profession for their masters in numerous boats. The surface in the north of this province and in Pechele is so flat and low, that the tide, which rises only nine or ten feet in the adjoining gulf, flows upwards of one hundred miles above the mouth of the Pei-ho. The country, therefore, consisting entirely of an argillaceous sand abounding in mica, is frequently laid under water, the general level not being more than two feet above the surface of the river at high tide. In this circumstance, joined to the vicinity of that constant source of inundations, the Yellow River, we may perceive, perhaps, an explanation of the great inundation or deluge, which the celebrated Yu is said to have carried off in the course of eight years by constructing "nine channels."

On entering Keang-nân, which is divided into the subordinate provinces of Keangsoo and Ganhoey, the country soon improves, and the inequality of the surface renders the locks, or floodgates, very frequent on the canal. This is certainly the richest province of China. It is famous for its silks and japanned goods, made principally at Soochow. Nanking, the ancient capital, became permanently abandoned for Peking by Yoonglo, in the fifteenth century. The area of the ancient walls, only a corner of which is occupied by the present city, measures seventeen miles in circumference, being rather more than the circuit of Peking. The reigning Tartar dynasty find it their interest to retain the modern capital, from its vicinity to Mougen, their birth-place; but the ancient one is greatly more central, with a finer climate, and altogether better calculated to promote the prosperity of the empire. Shanghai, a seaport near the mouth of the Keang, was visited by Mr. Gutzlaff in 1831, and described by him as the most considerable trading place.



on the coast; it is, in fact, close to Soochow  
 āngchow. On the Keang, not far from the  
 , is that remarkably beautiful little island  
 the "Golden Isle," surmounted by numerous  
 s, inhabited by the votaries of Budh, or Fo,  
 ry correctly described so many centuries since  
 reo Polo. At no great distance from this are  
 dens of Kien-loong, erected for him when he  
 his southern provinces, and viewed by us in  
 bassy of 1816: they were laid out in the usual  
 f Chinese gardening, with artificial rocks and  
 and wooden bridges over a piece of water.  
 nbassy saw the room in which the emperor  
 and a stone tablet, having engraved some  
 es composed by himself. The whole, how-  
 as in a sad state of dilapidation and ruin, like  
 everything else of the kind that we see in  
 ntry.

ie district of Hoey-chow-foo, the most southern  
 the province, is grown the best green tea. The  
 which it is reared is a decomposition of granite,  
 ling in felspar, as is proved by its being used  
 rcelain. Thus the same soil produces the  
 d the cups in which it is drunk. In this pro-  
 too, is Foong-yang-foo, the birth-place of the  
 r of the Ming dynasty, who served, at first, as  
 al in a monastery of bonzes. He then joined  
 of insurgents against the Mongol dynasty,  
 became their chief. From beating the Tartars  
 ry battle, and at length chasing them from  
 ntry, he was styled *Hoong-woo*, "the great  
 ."

adjoining province of Keang-sy is, perhaps, in  
 of natural scenery and climate, the most delight-  
 t of China. The Poyang lake, in size approach-  
 : character of an inland sea, is bordered on its  
 ide by strikingly beautiful mountain scenery.  
 only hereabouts that the two British embassies  
*in their respective routes.* That of Lord Am-  
*ceeded along the Yang-tse-keang after leav-*

ing the canal, until it reached the lake; while Macartney crossed the Keang below Nanking, Soochow and Hångchow, and, proceeding east and west, approached the lake at its southern extremity. The following account of the west side of the Poyang is from a MS. Journal :—" Arrive in the day at Nankang-foo. A long mole was built on the south-east side of the town, making a safe harbour for boats to lie in, secure from the turbulent waters of the lake in bad weather. When we were here, sufficient swell existed to make it resemble an arm of the sea, and the shore was covered with shingles in the manner of a sea-beach." A division of the mountains in the neighbourhood is found in another place, as well as of King-te-ching, the noted manufactory for porcelain, to the eastward of Poyang.

From Keang-sy to the adjoining province of Kiangtung, or Canton, the passage is cut through the steep and pitous ridge of mountains which separates the two provinces, and was formed by an individual during the dynasty of the Ming, more than a thousand years since; and an artificial gateway in the centre, of later construction, marks the boundary between the two provinces. The pass, Mei-ling, is derived from the flowery species of prunus which grows wild in profusion on the summit. After reaching the foot of the steep declivity on the north side, the embassy were obliged to dismount from their horses, or quit their chairs in order to walk up. On reaching the summit, the rock is cut to the depth of above twenty feet. The view on the Canton side breaks upon the eye with grandeur, consisting of ranges of wild mountain peaks wooded. The rocks at the pass have been erroneously stated to consist of gneiss and quartz; they are in fact, limestone, in common with the whole of the Canton province, and supply the grey marble which is so plentifully brought down the river. Irregular square blocks of the stone which compose the pavement are piled up in pyramidal shapes on each

down the southern declivity; the separate  
however, preserving the remains of a horizon  
cation.

y two provinces to the east, or left, of the  
sued by Lord Amherst's mission, are Chê-  
d Fokien, both of them bordering the sea.  
of these competes with Keang-nân in the  
n of silk, and the country is thickly planted  
ig mulberry-trees, which are constantly re-  
the most certain way of improving the qua-  
e silk which is spun by the worms. The  
city of the province is the celebrated Hâng-  
he end of an estuary of the sea, where the  
ording to Barrow, rises six or seven feet.  
his opulent town, on the west, is the famous  
oo, about six miles in circumference, the  
te limpid, and overspread with the nelum-  
his extensive sheet of water is covered with  
hich appear to be the perpetual abodes of  
d dissipation. On the coast, in the 30th  
latitude, is the well-known port of Ningpo,  
r seat of European trade. The entrance is  
e difficult, as there are scarcely twenty feet  
n the bar at the highest tides. Fifty or sixty  
it, among the islands on the coast, is Chow-  
isan, with a good harbour, but inconvenient  
n comparison with Ningpo itself. The capi-  
san is Tinghae.

ntiguous province of Fokien preserved its  
nce against the Manchow Tartars longer  
ortion of the empire, being supported by the  
of the famous pirate (as he is sometimes  
ough he deserves a better name) whose son  
he Dutch from the adjoining island Formosa,  
Tartars had dispossessed him of the main.  
e of Fokien retain a hereditary aptitude for  
nd chiefly supply the emperor's war-junks  
sailors and commanders. A large propor-  
f the trading junks that proceed to sea per-  
ien. Two circumstances probably tend to

maintain the maritime propensities of the inhabitant—first, this province is so far removed from the sea as to afford fewer inducements to inland navigation and trade, always preferred, if practicable, by the Chinese; secondly, the proximity of the opposite island of Formosa keeps up a constant intercourse by sea. The language or dialect of Fokien is so peculiar, hardly to be intelligible elsewhere, and this is chiefly to be attributed to its long independence of the rest of the empire. *Ch* is always pronounced *7*, hence the difference between *cha* and *tea* for the staple production of China; the first name formerly being adopted by the Portuguese from Macao, the second by the English from Amoy. This is the name of which is a corruption of the native *Heamun*, is well known to have been formerly the seat of the English trade, being placed on an island near the coast in latitude  $24^{\circ} 25'$ . Fokien is the country of the black teas, and Bohea is a corruption of *Vu-ee Shan*, the hills where they are principally grown.

We have now taken a cursory view of the finest and most opulent parts of the empire. All the remaining are inland provinces, less known to Europeans, and probably much less suited to the purposes of commerce. Of these, one of the largest is Hoo-kuang, divided by the vast lake Tongting Hoo,\* with its tributaries, into two subordinate provinces, Hoo-pé and Hoon-nán: that is, “north and south of the lake.” The last is to be distinguished from Ho-nán, a province to the north. Immediately adjoining, to the south, is the province of Kuáng-sy, under the same royalty with Canton, but greatly inferior in wealth. North of Kuáng-sy lies Kuei-chow, a small mountainous province, of which the south boundary has always been independent. It is peopled by a race of mountaineers called Meaou-tse, who thus defy the Chinese.

\* The English translation of Du Halde, we observe, that the lake is very venomous, being thus absurdly rendered from the original *poisoneux*.

in the midst of their empire. They gave the government much trouble in 1832, and are said to have been "soothed" rather than "controlled," to use favourite Chinese expressions—that is, managed rather than subdued.

The fact that an independent race of people should exist in the heart of a country so jealous of its dominion as China, is certainly a singular one. The principal seats of these mountaineers are between the provinces of Kuei-chow and Kuáng-sy, though some of them exist in other parts of the same ridge; and in the Chinese maps their borders or limits are marked off like those of a foreign country, and the space left vacant. L'Amiot has given an account of Kien-loong's expeditions against them; but as his narrative is taken from the official papers sent to the emperor, which are in general not more correct or veracious than Napoleon's bulletins, it must be received with some allowances. According to him, the viceroy of a neighbouring province had sent an army against the Meaou-tse, who enticed them into their mountains, and entirely cut off the Chinese with their general. To revenge this, Kien-loong despatched a leader named Akuei at the head of his best Tartar troops to subdue them. This person is said to have entered their country, and, in spite of all opposition, to have taken their king prisoner, and nearly exterminated the race. Still, however, they remain as independent as ever, and the Chinese are contented to keep them within their own limits by small fortresses erected on the borders.

The mountainous ridges occupied by this people extend full six degrees, or about 360 geographical miles from west to east, comprising the southern borders of Kuei-chow, with the northern of Kuáng-sy, and the north-west limits of the Canton province; but the Chinese contrive to weaken their force by separating their different tribes. The men do not shave their hair like the Tartars and Chinese, but wear it tied up, *in the ancient fashion of the latter people before they*

were conquered. The Chinese, in affected contempt, give them the names of *Yaou-jin* and *Láng-jin*, dog-men and wolf-men. They are said to inhabit houses of one story raised on piles, occupying the upper part, and placing their domestic animals below. The Chinese, without entering their mountains, purchase the woods of their forests by agreement, and these being thrown into the rivers which intersect the hilly country, are floated down into the plains. They make their linen from a species of hemp, probably the material of what is called *grass cloth* at Canton; and likewise manufacture a kind of carpet for their own use. As soon as the children can walk, the Chinese say that the soles of their feet are seared with a hot iron, to enable them to tread on thorns and stones without pain; but this perhaps deserves little more credit than the grave assertion at Canton that the people have *tails*,—a piece of information which would have been duly appreciated by Lord Monboddo, in his speculations on the primitive elongation of the vertebral chain in the human race.

In the month of February, 1832, a great rising took place among the Meaou-tse, extending to the neighbourhood of Lien-chow, on the north-west of Canton. The leader took the name of the "Golden Dragon," and assumed a *yellow* dress: this gave great offence and alarm at Peking, and it was apprehended that some of the "Triad society," whose object is the overthrow of the Manchow Tartars, had got among them. They made their way into the plains, and defeated several bodies of Chinese troops with considerable slaughter, including the loss of their arms and stores. The commander-in-chief of a neighbouring province was among the killed. The mountaineers possessed themselves of several towns, but issued notices to the Chinese people that they made war only against the government. Of a thousand men sent from Canton to recruit the emperor's forces, two hundred were ordered back again as entirely useless, from the *baneful effects* of opium.

The Viceroy of Canton (called by the English "Governor Le") proceeded against the insurgents, although they at first retired, it was only to return the amount, it is said, of 30,000, who engaged a Chinese army, and slew 2000 of them, with a considerable number of mandarins. One officer of rank who understood their language and customs, was sent to treat with them; but, on his entering their territory they seized him and cut off his head, saying that the spirit of *Chang-ke-urh* (Jehanghir), the Mahometan prince who was perfidiously murdered at Peking, had appeared and advised them to make no terms with the faithless. While "Governor Le" was unsuccessful to the south, the Viceroy of Hoonân attacked the insurgents on the north, and retook one of the towns of which they had possessed themselves, killing a great number, and taking some of the chief men prisoner. At length, two imperial commissioners were sent from Peking, and they performed by policy much more than had been likely to be done by arms. Reports were spread of the innumerable forces that were coming to exterminate the mountaineers, and they were at the same time invited to come to terms. At length it was agreed that they should confine themselves to their hills, and that the Chinese should not invade their territories, and the emperor's troops were withdrawn. "Governor Le," however, was, in consequence of his ill success, deprived of his station at Canton, and ordered to proceed to Peking to be put upon his trial and degraded. The Viceroy of Hoonân, on the other hand, was honoured with the peacock's feather, a distinction of a military character, pendent from the lack of the cap, and a multitude of rewards were conferred on others, significant of the important advantages which had been gained over the enemy. These, however, continue as independent as ever, and must be a source of some anxiety to the Manchurian dynasty.

The province of Yun-nân, the most western part of China, which borders on the Burmese territory, a

not very far from Umerapura the capital, is extremely mountainous, and abounds in metals and other valuable minerals. Gold is found in the sands of the river and the Keang, in this part of its course, is named *Kin-shā*, or golden-sanded. There is a salt-water lake near Yaou-gân-foo. Towards the north-west of the province, on the borders of the Thibet country, is found the *Yak*, or cow of Thibet, the tail-hairs of which are used in various manufactures, particularly carpets. The large province of Szechuen, lying to the east of Yun-nân, is traversed by a portion of the *Keang*. From the name of "snowy mountains," applied by the Chinese to some of those which exist along the north-west of this province, bordering the Thibet country, they must be of considerable elevation, and from their situation are probably higher than any in China. Salt springs are found here in Yun-nân, towards the south-west. The province of Shensy, bordering on Thibet, has been enlarged and divided into two, of which the westernmost is called *Kân-sô*. Both this country and the adjoining province of Shansy, towards Peking, abound in symptoms of volcanic action; as the connexion of salt-water lakes and springs with jets of inflammable gas and sulphur wells. These may be traced towards the south through Szechuen and Yun-nân to the Burmese country, where they also occur in abundance, and seemingly a continuation of those volcanic tracts which extend up through the Malay peninsula, Sumatra and Java, both of which islands contain numerous volcanoes in full action. In Shensy, near the city Yen-gân-foo, there distils from some rocks a flammable substance, which the Chinese burn for lamps, and call *Shě-yew*, or *stone-oil*, being probably what its name imports, a kind of *petroleum*.

Although not precisely included in our plan, which is confined to China Proper, it may not be amiss to take some notice of the countries immediately contiguous.

*The region of Manchow Tartary, formerly*



territory of the *Kin*, whence the present rulers of China proceeded, has been generally described as consisting of three provinces. Mougden, or Shing-king, the birth-place of the reigning family, commences just at the eastern extremity of the Great Wall, and is bounded on the south by the gulf of Pechele. Here it is that the emperors are buried, and their family mausoleum established. The country is surrounded on the north-west and north-east by a stockade of timber, about eight feet in height, which has been incorrectly inserted in some European maps as a continuation of the Great Wall. At Mougden is erected a sort of epitome of the imperial government of Peking, with various tribunals for the regulation of all parts of Tartary immediately dependent on the emperor, whose subjects in this part are called Bogdois by the Russians. To the eastward of Mougden, and bordering Corea on the north, is the second province of Manchow Tartary, called Kirin: it is here that the famous wild plant ginseng, to which the Chinese attribute wonderful properties, is gathered as an exclusive monopoly of the emperor. Not long since, however, the same plant was brought to Canton by the Americans, having been discovered in their northern states, in a climate and situation very similar to that of Eastern Tartary. The missionaries, who constructed the map for the emperor, were at a loss to explain the extremes of heat and cold prevailing in these regions;—"why countries which lie near the 40th degree of latitude should differ so much from ours (in Europe), in respect to the seasons and the productions of nature, as not to bear comparison even with our most northern provinces. The cold begins much sooner in these parts than at Paris, notwithstanding the latitude of that city is almost 50°." A small English vessel, which went up to the gulf of Pechele in the winter of 1832, was nearly frozen up there; and yet, during the month of August, 1816, we observed that the fishermen on the coast went stark naked on account of the excessive heat, and their skins

were burned almost black by the sun. Nothing can prove more strongly that the climates of places are not influenced by their latitude merely. The third province of Manchow Tartary, of which the inhabitants are the Tagours, bordering on the Russian territory, is that of Hëloongkeang, or "the river of the Black Dragon," otherwise called the Saghalien, or river Amûr.

The Western or Mongol Tartars, commencing from the Great Wall, extend as a distinct race even to the borders of the Caspian. They are distinguished by their nomadic habits, dwelling in tents, driving their flocks to pasture from place to place, and accoutred with the bow for sport or war. Of those dependent on China, but governed through the medium of their own princes, or Khans, the most considerable are the Kalkas, lying to the north of the Shamo, or sandy desert called Cobi.\* They are all Budhists, and the wandering priests of that persuasion are styled Shamans, in Chinese written *Shamun*. The Ortous are confined between a bend of the Yellow River and the Great Wall, which in this part is a mere earthen mound about fifteen feet high. The principal seat of Chinese rule in Mongol Tartary is at Ee-ly, a place to which criminals from China (sometimes Hong merchants from Canton) are occasionally exiled: they are generally condemned to military service, and in some cases become slaves to Tartars. It is likely, however, that money serves to mitigate their treatment, for a former linguist of Canton, banished thither for conveying presents to Peking from the chief of the English factory to a minister of state, returned, after a banishment of fifteen years, in very good case, and by no means dissatisfied with his residence.

Gerbillon, in the account of his expedition in 1688, gives a miserable history of the Mongol and Kalka Tartars. Entirely devoted to their Lamas, whom even

\* In the *Shamo* desert, no water is to be had except in pits dug in the sand, and that of the worst quality. The surface is strewed with the bodies of animals, victims to thirst.

the Emperor of China honours, on account of their influence over the various tribes, the Mongols live in tents of coarse felt, eat nothing but flesh half raw, and exchange their sheep and cattle for a few of the necessities of life, having no value for money. Timkowski states that the usual medium of exchange is *tea*, made up into the shape of bricks. As late as the reign of Kâng-hy, the chief of the Kalka Tartars styled himself Emperor, but becoming tributary to China, in return for protection against the Eleuths, he submitted to the rank of Wáng, or King. At the time, however, when Gerbillon visited Tartary, the brother of the Kalka Khan told Kâng-hy's envoys that he expected to be treated as the son of an emperor, and was so treated accordingly. The most westerly of the Mongol Tartars are the Calmucs, or Eleuths, stretching towards the Caspian. They waged war with Kâng-hy, in 1696, but were defeated; and these victories of the emperor's army were, as we have before stated, painted by the Jesuits, and engraved in France.

On the western side of China, bordering principally on Szechuen province, are the Sy-fân, or Too-fân, who, according to the Chinese, call their country *Too-pě-tê* (Thibet), and, like the other Tartar races, are worshippers of Budh, or Fo, and under the dominion of Lama priests. Their inaccessible mountainous retreats make them pretty independent of Chinese control, though they are counted among the subjects of the emperor. They appear to have made some show in Chinese history, previous to the dynasty of Yuen, or that of the Mongol Tartars, and their princes even compelled the sovereigns of China to yield them their daughters in marriage; but the arms of Zenghis Khan involved them in the common subjugation, and they have since remained very quiet within their hilly country, contented with the exercise of their superstitions. There is a Chinese resident at Lassa, the capital of Thibet, the high road to which from Peking lies through Sy-ning, in Kân-sô province.

*To the south, bordering on the western part of Yun-*

nân province, are the Lolos, the original inhabitants of a portion of Yun-nân, and very similar in habits, religious observances, and language, to the Burmese, or people of Ava. The Chinese exercise but a doubtful control over them, for, though the emperor is said to confer titles on their principal rulers, they appear to be entirely subject to their native chiefs in all matters of consequence. On the outskirts of the empire, towards the west, are a number of towns or stations called *Too-sse*, or "native jurisdictions," where the aborigines are more or less independent, and where there is, in fact, a kind of divided authority, each party being immediately subject to its own chiefs. This is particularly true of the Lolos.

The two large islands of Formosa and Haenân being external to the main body of the empire, and therefore exposed to the power of any maritime and commercial nation that might wish to try the experiment of an insular settlement near the coast of China, are both of them deserving of some attention. Of these two, Formosa is by far the most favoured and the most desirable region. It lies principally between the 25th and 22nd parallels of north latitude, just opposite the coast of Fokien, from which it is distant, at the nearest point, little more than twenty leagues. The length is nearly two hundred geographical miles, with an average breadth of about fifty; and the climate, as might be expected from an insular situation in that latitude, very favourable. The island is divided longitudinally by a ridge of high mountains; and the western portion, having been colonised by the Chinese since the Manchow Tartar conquest, is now held by them as a portion of the opposite province of Fokien. The side that lies eastward of the hills is still inhabited by the aborigines, who have always been described as a primitive and savage race, bearing some common resemblance to the Malays and to the inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific; since they blacken their teeth like the former, and tattoo their skins, as a distinctive mark of rank, after the manner of the lat-

pulsion of the Dutch by the Chinese, hundred years since, from their settlement coast of Formosa, has already been described in the first chapter. The island continued for long to be held by the Chinese, independently of the conquerors of the empire; but in 1683 it was taken by the Manchow emperor, K'ang-hy, and added to the empire as a part of the province of Fokien. The position of Formosa, opposite the southern coasts of China, would render it a most favourable situation for the promotion of European

commerce. It is rather smaller than Formosa, its greatest length being under one hundred and fifty miles, with a breadth of about a degree. It is divided from the mainland by the strait of Kuang-tung (to which it is subject) narrow as well as shallow strait, on the north side of which the principal city of the island, Keung-tung, is situated. The climate of the island, from the 20th parallel of latitude, is temperate; but the worst feature of the country is the frequent and dreadful hurricanes by which it is deluged during the southerly monsoon, and from the south-east sea seems to be nearly, if not entirely, shut out for the months of August, September, and October. The interior of Haenân, as well as its coasts, is liable to the destructive typhoons for which the Chinese sea is so notorious, and which have, of late years, wrecked many European vessels on its shores. The numbers that have foundered in the sea off its coasts has its aborigines as well as Formosa: the latter is said to inhabit the mountains towards the south of the island, and occasionally to give trouble to the Chinese government.

We do not affect to consider all countries tributary to China; we sent an ambassador; but those which have been so, and whose tribute is periodically acknowledged, are Corea, Cochin-China, Lewkew, and Siam. Corea (called Chaou-sien) is said to have become a kingdom

about 100 years before our era; it is entirely its own sovereigns, but the investiture of it is obtained from the Emperor of China. Whenever there is a vacancy, deposes two officers on the next in succession the title of King to prevent contests after his death, the ruler sometimes names his heir, and applies to him to confirm him. The Koreans use the Chinese character, but have a syllabic alphabet of their own. The coasts of Corea are very far from being laid down on the maps, nor is it surprising that the embassy in 1816 should have been so erroneously represented; for no European had ever entered the country. The only authority for the missionaries' map was a *native* map, brought back to Peking by a Chinese envoy, and adopted for want of a better. P. Regnier says, "There should be some fortifications on the south and east sides, which would complete the account of Corea as a part of the geography of Asia." The chief products are sable skins, ginseng, and a strong paper used by the Chinese for windows, instead of glass.

Cochin-China, including Tonkin, and the Kuáng-sy province, had its limits fixed by the state about A.D. 250, by a brass pillar which still exists to this day, and of which the situation is marked on the Jesuits' map. The tribute of Cochin-China to Siam, is sent periodically to Canton, and is forwarded in charge of the ambassadors of Siam; the vessels claim exemption from port duties. The late war between Siam and Cochin-China has interfered with the regular transmission of tribute from both countries.

Lewkew, or Loo-choo, has been made more familiar to us by the relations of Captain Hall and Mr. M'Leod, and it has since been visited by Captain Beechey, and later still by the Commodore. There is every reason to suppose that these islands are a jealous and suspicious

er at once of Japan and China, and that  
 y to exclude Europeans from their coun-  
 ed, on the occasion of the *Alceste* and  
 under a cunning and plausible semblance  
 and good-will,—for hospitality it could  
 lled. The King of Loo-choo derives his  
 from the Emperor of China, and sends an  
 h tribute about once in two years. Those  
 to have had little or no intercourse with  
 e the *Yuen* or Mongol dynasty; and there  
 suppose that the unsuccessful expedition  
 blai Khân against Japan may have had  
 unication with them, and originated the  
 ich have since existed.

g to the Chinese account of Loo-choo  
 Peking with moveable types), the island  
 y divided into three nations or tribes, which  
 uently united into one. It is stated that  
 written character of their own (identi-  
 at of Japan), in which is recorded the an-  
 y of the country, but that they also use  
 character. So far from the people of Loo-  
 g no weapons, the same account relates  
 ndation of the kingdom was laid by mili-  
 n the person of a Japanese prince, and  
 temple dedicated to the conqueror, there  
 y an arrow placed before the tablet where  
 inscribed, in conformity with his will, to  
 is kingdom was established by arms. They  
 copper coin of their own, but, as the  
 arce on the island, it exists in no large  
 nd this may perhaps account for the first  
 tors having seen none. The Chinese say  
 mes use *their* copper coin, and sometimes  
 n, both of which are introduced in trade.  
 fact, lies equidistant from both countries,  
 ary to both.

g to the same authority, there is a nominal  
*choo*, but the real power is exercised by  
*ho is absolute. They have borrowed from*

China the gradation of nine ranks, and compiled a system of law from the penal code of their great neighbour. They likewise borrowed from China its best institution—a national education, with district schools, and public examinations for promotion. They venerate the memory of Confucius, and study his works, with the notes of his great commentator, Choofootse. Their religion is that of Fö, or Budh, and they have all



[Buddhist High-priest.]

*the subordinate idols attached to that persuasion. Among other articles of food, the Chinese say that the Loo-chooans make a sort of pemmican, composed of*



meat and pulse pounded and pressed together, which is dried in the wind, and keeps a long time. Their dislike of foreign visitors no doubt arises in some measure from fear of giving offence to the Chinese; a consideration which likewise influences the people of Corea in their exclusion of strangers.

The intercourse of China with *Japan* from the earliest ages seems to have been little better than an infliction of mutual injuries, the latter country being too independent and proud to yield the homage which was demanded by the former. The Mongol conquerors of China, urged by the spirit of universal dominion, made the most frequent and determined attempts, first to persuade the Japanese to send tribute, and then to subdue them; but all without success. The missions appear to have been principally on the part of China, the Japanese sometimes receiving them, and sometimes refusing to communicate; but making few or no returns, and not only denying the homage which was so much coveted, but demanding it from the other party. At length an armament of 15,000 men was sent by the way of Corea, but they only plundered the coast and returned. Six years afterwards an envoy was again despatched, who, with his whole retinue, was murdered by the Japanese. This led to an armament of no less than 100,000 men being despatched from China by Koblai Khân, for the conquest of the country. On their arrival upon the northern coast, a storm arose which destroyed the greater number of the vessels; and the Japanese, attacking them on shore in several engagements, either killed or made captives of nearly the whole force, of which it is said that only three individuals ever returned to their own country. This agrees in the main with the account given by Marco Polo.

The Chinese dynasty of *Ming*, which drove out and succeeded the Mongols, suffered severely from the predatory attacks of the Japanese on the coast, in return for the *hostilities* which the latter had *experienced from the family* of Koblai Khân. Envoys

were sent to remonstrate on the subject, and to invite the Japanese to friendly intercourse, in which a hint at homage seems not to have been forgotten. They were permitted to land, as they were not sent by the hateful Mongols : but no better success appears to have attended their efforts to obtain tribute, although some of the persons employed as envoys were priests of Budh, for whom the Japanese have a respect, on account of their connexion with their own national religion. The piracies along the eastern coasts of China were frequently repeated, but they seem to have led to no renewed attempts on the part of the celestial empire to punish or subdue Japan. Some commercial intercourse at present subsists between the two countries, principally carried on in junks from Ningpo and Amoy. The Chinese justly value the real Japanware above their own inferior manufactures in lacker, and this ware, with copper, seems to be the chief article of import.

## CHAPTER VI.

## SUMMARY OF CHINESE HISTORY.

ROUGH a laboured history in detail of the Chinese is not suited to the character and objects of work, still a rapid sketch of such revolutions as the country has undergone, more especially in the Tartar conquest, seems requisite, in order rightly to understand some peculiarities in the customs of the people, and even some *changes* that have taken place among a race generally remarkable for the unvaryingness of its manners and institutions.

Without attempting to deny to China a very high age of antiquity, it is now pretty universally admitted, on the testimony of the most respectable natural historians, that this is a point which has been much exaggerated. In reference to the earliest traditions of their history, a famous commentator, and Choofootse, observes, "It is impossible to give credit to the accounts of these remote ages." China has, in fact, her *mythology* in common with all nations, and under this head we must range the persons styled Fohy, Shin-noong, Hoang-ty, and their immediate successors, who, like the demigods and heroes of Grecian fable, rescued mankind by their valor and enterprise from the most primitive barbarism, and have since been invested with supernatural attributes. The most extravagant prodigies related of these persons, and the most incongruities attributed to them;—according to Swift's apt metaphor for making a hero, who, if his virtues are not subject to consistency, is to have them laid in a heap upon him. "*National* vanity, and a love of the marvellous, have influenced in a similar manner the

early history of most other countries, and furnished materials for nursery tales, as soon as the spirit of sober investigation has supplanted that appetite for wonders which marks the infancy of nations as well as of individuals.”\*

The fabulous part of Chinese history commences with *Puonkoo*, who is represented in a dress of leaves, and concerning whom everything is wild and obscure. He is said to have been followed by a number of persons with fanciful names, who, in the style of the Hindoo chronology, reigned for thousands of years, until the appearance of Fohy, who, it is said, invented the arts of music, numbers, &c., and taught his subjects to live in a civilized state. He inhabited what is now the northern province of Shensy, anciently the country of *Tsin*, or *Chin*, whence some derive the word China, by which the empire has been for ages designated in India. *Fohy* (often absurdly confounded with *Fo*, or Budh) and his two successors are styled the “Three Emperors,” and reputed the inventors of all the arts and accommodations of life. Of these, Shin-noong, or the “divine husbandman,” instructed his people in agriculture; and Hoang-ty divided all the lands into groups of nine equal squares, of which the middle one was to be cultivated in common for the benefit of the state. He is said likewise to have invented the mode of noting the cycle of sixty years, the foundation of the Chinese system of chronology. The series of cycles is at least made to extend back to the time in which he is reputed to have lived, about 2600 years before Christ; but it is obvious that there could be no difficulty in calculating it much farther back than even that, had the inventors so pleased; and this date is therefore no certain proof of antiquity.

To the “Three Emperors” succeeded the “Five Sovereigns,” and the designations seem equally arbitrary and fanciful in both cases, being in fact distincto-

\* *Royal Asiat. Trans.* vol. i. *Memor concerning the Chinese*

tions without a difference. The fictitious character of this early period might be proved in abundance of instances, and it is the worst feature of Du Halde's compilation to set everything down without comment, and to be filled with general and unmeaning eulogies out of Chinese works, whatever may be the subject of description. He observes that one of these *five Sovereigns* regulated the Calendar, "and desired to begin the year on the first day of the month in which the sun should be nearest the 15th degree of Aquarius, for which he is called the author and father of the ephemeris. He chose the time when the sun passes through the middle of this sign, because it is *the season in which the earth is adorned with plants, trees renew their verdure, and all nature seems re-animated*."—this of course must mean the spring season. Now the person alluded to is said to have lived more than 2000 years before Christ, and, according to the usual mode of calculating the precession of the equinoxes, the sun must have passed through the 15th of Aquarius, in his time, somewhere about the *middle of December*. In a Chinese historian this strange blunder is not surprising, and only shows the character of their earlier records; but it ought to have been corrected in a European work.

*Yaou* and *Shun*, the two last of the five sovereigns, were the patterns of all Chinese emperors. To *Yaou* is attributed the intercalation (in their lunar year) of an additional lunar month seven times in every nineteen years; the number of days in seven lunations being nearly equal to nineteen multiplied by *eleven*, which last is the number of days by which the lunar year falls short of the solar. *Yaou* is said to have set aside his own son, and chosen *Shun* to be his successor, on account of his virtues. The choice of the reigning emperor is the rule of succession at the present day, and it is seldom that the eldest son succeeds in preference to the rest. To the age of *Shun* the Chinese refer their tradition of an extensive flooding of the lands, which by some has been identified with the

Mosaic deluge. It was for his merit in draining the country, or drawing off the waters of the great inundation, in which he was employed eight years, that "Yu the great" was chosen by Shun for his successor.

He commenced the period called *Hea*, upwards of 2100 years before Christ. Yu is described as nine cubits in height, and it is stated that "the skies rained gold for three days," which certainly (as Dr. Morrison observes) "lessens the credit of the history of this period." In fact, the whole of the long space of time included under *Hea* and *Shang* is full of the marvellous. *Chow-wang*, however, the last of the *Shang* (about 1100 years before Christ), was a tyrant, by all accounts, not more remarkable for his cruelty or extravagancies than many other tyrants have been. Frequent allusion is made to him in Chinese books, as well as to his wife, and various stories are related of their crimes. One of the emperor's relations having ventured to remonstrate with him, the cruel monarch ordered his heart to be brought to him for inspection, observing, that he wished to see in what respects the heart of a sage differed from those of common men. With the Chinese the heart is the seat of the *mind*.

At length Woo-wong, literally "the martial king," was called upon to depose the tyrant, and all the people turned against the latter. When no hopes were left, he arrayed himself in his splendour, and retiring to his palace, set fire to it, and perished, like another Sardanapalus, in the flames. When the conqueror entered, the first object he perceived was the guilty queen, whom he put to death with his own hand, and immediately became the first of the dynasty *Chow*. This forms the subject of a portion of the 'Shooking,' one of the five classical books delivered down by Confucius. The Chinese have no existing records older than the compilations of *Confucius*, who was nearly contemporary with Herodotus, the father of Grecian history, and to whom Pope has given a very lofty niche in his 'Temple of Fame':—

"Superior and alone Confucius stood,  
Who taught that useful science—to be good."

the *five classics* and the *four books*, which were be-  
lieved by that teacher or by his disciples, contain  
all that is now known of the early traditions or records  
of the country. The period of authentic history may  
be considered as dating from the race of *Chow*, in  
the time Confucius himself lived; for, although it  
might be going too far to condemn all that precedes  
that period as absolutely fabulous, it is still so much  
mingled up with fable as hardly to deserve the name of  
history. In his work called *Chun-tsiu* (*spring and autumn*, because written between those seasons) Con-  
fucius gives the annals of his own times, and relates  
the wars of the several petty states against each other.  
The southern half of the present empire (to the south  
of the Yangtse-keang) was then in a state of entire  
anarchy; and the northern half, extending from  
the river to the confines of Tartary, was divided  
into a number of petty independent states, derived  
from a common origin, but engaged in perpetual hos-  
ilities with each other.

The period of *Chow*, comprising above eight centu-  
ries, and extending down to 240 B.C., was distinguished,  
not only by the birth of Confucius, but by the appear-  
ance in China of *Laou-keun*, and, in India, of *Buddha*, or  
*Shakyamuni*, who were destined to give rise to the two sects,  
which, subordinate to that of Confucius himself, have  
ruled rather than divided the population of China  
since. The estimation, however, which they have  
respectively enjoyed has been very different. The  
morality and the doctrines of Confucius have met with  
most uninterrupted veneration to the present time;  
they have even retained their supremacy over the na-  
tive worship of the Tartar dynasty; while the absurd  
superstitions of the other two have been alternately  
embraced and despised by the different sovereigns of  
the country. The mummeries of the Buddhists are a  
parallel to the worst parts of Roman Catholicism;  
and the disciples of *Laou-keun* combine a variety of

superstitions; each sect, at the same time, being plainly a corruption of something that was better in its origin. We shall have to speak of these more in detail hereafter, under the head of Religions.

Confucius was respected by the sovereigns of nearly all the independent states of China, and was employed as minister by one of them. After his death, which happened B.C. 477, at the age of seventy-three, a series of sanguinary contests arose among the petty kingdoms, which gave to this period of history the name of *Chen-kuo*, or the "contending nations," and proved in after-times the ruin of the race of *Chow*. The king of *Tsin* had long been growing powerful at the expense of the neighbouring states: he fought against six other nations, and, after a course of successes, compelled them all to acknowledge his supremacy. The chief government began now to assume the aspect of an empire, which comprehended that half of modern China lying to the north of the great *Keang*; but which, after the lapse of a few centuries, was doomed again to be split into several parts.

The *first Emperor* (which is implied by the title *Chyhoang-ty*) being troubled by the incursions of the Tartars on the northern frontier, rendered himself forever famous by the erection of the vast wall, which has now stood for 2000 years, extending along a space of 1500 miles, from the Gulf of Peking to Western Tartary. It has been estimated that this monstrous monument of human labour contains materials sufficient to surround the whole globe, on one of its largest circles, with a wall several feet in height. Another act of the same emperor entitled him to a different species of fame. He ordered that all the books of the learned, including the writings of Confucius, should be cast into the flames; many of course escaped this sentence, through the zeal of those who cultivated learning; but it is said that upwards of 400 persons, who attempted to evade or oppose the order, were burned with the books they wished to save. It is not easy to explain the fantastic wickedness of such a



st on any common principles ; but one reason alleged for it is, the jealousy that this foolish emperor entertained of the fame of his progenitors, and the wish he indulged that posterity should hear of none before himself.

About the year 201 B.C., the race of Hân succeeded to the sovereignty, and commenced one of the most celebrated periods of Chinese history. It was now that the Tartars by their predatory warfare became the source of endless disquiet to the more polished and peaceful Chinese, by whom they were in vain protected with alliances and tribute. They were the *ing-kuo* (erratic nations), against whom the first emperor had vainly built the wall ; and under the name of Heung-noo (Huns) they constantly appear in the stories or fictions of that period. The first emperors of this race endeavoured to make friends of the barbarian chiefs by giving them their daughters in marriage. "The disgrace," says a historian of that period, "could not be exceeded—from this time China lost honour." In the reign of Yuenty, the ninth emperor, the Tartars having been provoked by the punishment of two of their leaders, who had transgressed the boundaries of the Great Wall in hunting, the empire was again invaded, and a princess demanded and secured in marriage. This forms the subject of one of the hundred plays of Yuen, an English version of which was printed by the Oriental Translation Committee in 1851, under the name of the 'Sorrows of Hân.' The policy of buying off the barbarians, which was continued so early, terminated many centuries after in the overthrow of the empire.

The seventeenth emperor of Hân, by name *Ho-ty*, is said to have had considerable intercourse with the Tartars. It is even recorded that one of his envoys was sent to *Tatsin*, or Arabia. It is certain that eunuchs, the vile sources of trouble to his successors, were introduced during his reign, and it may be inferred that he borrowed them from western Asia about A.D. 166. The reigns of the last two emperors of Hân were

disturbed by the machinations of the eunuchs, the wars with the rebels called Hoangkin, or Caps. At this time so little was left of the sovereign authority, that the emperors are frequently designated by the mere term *Choo*, or lord.

The period of the *Sankuo*, or "Three States" which the country was divided towards the c. Hân, about A.D. 184, is a favourite subject of theatrical plays and romances of the Chinese. A designated particularly by the above name, is prized and very popular among them, and a script translation of it in Latin, by one of the Commissioners, exists in the library of the Royal Society. Extracts from it might be made inter but the whole is perhaps too voluminous to be English translation in print. It is, however, a stuffed with extravagancies as could be expected an oriental history, and, except that it is in bears a resemblance in some of its features Iliad, especially in what Lord Chesterfield calls porter-like language" of the heroes. These excel all moderns in strength and prowess, and exchanges after the fashion of Glaucus and Di Hector and Ajax. One shows his liberality in another in a weight of silver, or iron —

"And steel well-tempered, and refulgent gold."

Society seems to have been in much the same split into something like feudal principalities, loosely together under the questionable authority of one head. That great step in civilization, the invention of printing (which arose in China about the century of our era), had not yet taken place even the manufacture of paper had not long been introduced.

The leader of *Wei*, one of the three states, having length obtained the sovereignty, established the crown in his own country, Honân, and commenced the dynasty called *Tsin*, A.D. 260. Having taken away from the distractions arising from the interference

eunuchs and women in affairs of government during the period of the three states, a kind of Salic law was passed, that "Queens should not reign, nor assist in public matters"—a good law, adds the historian, and worthy of being an example: it was, however, soon afterwards abrogated in practice. It has been concluded, not without probability, that the name China, Sina, or Tsina, was taken from the dynasty of Tsin. The first emperor, or founder, is said to have had political transactions with Fergana, a province of Sogdiana, and to have received a Roman embassy.

On the conclusion of this race of sovereigns, in A.D. 416, China became divided into two principal kingdoms, Nanking being the capital of the southern one, and Honân of the northern. For about 200 years afterwards, five successive races (*woo-tae*) rapidly followed each other, and the salutary rule of hereditary succession being constantly violated by the strongest, the whole history of the period is a mere record of contests and crimes. At length, in A.D. 585, the north and south were united for the first time into one empire, of which the capital was fixed at Honân. The last of the five contending races was soon after deposed by *I-yuen*, who founded, in A.D. 622, the dynasty of *Tang*.

Tae-tsoong, the second emperor of this race, was one of the most celebrated in China; his maxims are constantly quoted in books, and his temperance and love of justice considered as patterns. There is reason to believe that certain Christians of the Nestorian Church first came to China in his reign, about A.D. 640. It is recorded that foreigners arrived, having fair hair and blue eyes. According to the Jesuits, whom Du Halde has quoted, a stone monument was found at *Sy-gân-foo* in Shensy, A.D. 1625, with the cross, an abstract of the Christian law, and the names of 72 preachers in Syriac characters, bearing the fore-mentioned date. It has been urged that this discovery might have been a pious fraud on the part of the holy fathers: but it is not easy to assign any adequate mo-

vious to this dynasty, about five hundred years before it was known to us, the multiplication of books, the instruments of learning, was a principal cause of the literary character of the age of Soong; to the same cause may be attributed the increased fulness of the records of this period, from whence the really interesting thread of Chinese history commences. Our light now multiply fast, and the Tartars begin to take considerable share in the national transactions. In fact, the whole history of this polished but unwarlike race is a series of disgraceful acts of compromise with the Eastern Tartars, called *Kim* (the origin of the Man chows, or present reigning family), until the Mongols or Western Tartars, took possession of the empire under Koblai Khan.

In the reign of Chin-tsoong, the third emperor of Soong, the Eastern Tartars, having laid siege to a town near Peking, were forced to treat, but still obtained advantageous terms, with a large annual donation of money and silk. The pacific disposition of Jin-tsoong, the fourth emperor, gave them further encouragement, and a disgraceful treaty was the consequence. Ten districts to the south of the wall being claimed by them, they received an annual quit-rent of 200,000 taëls, and a quantity of silk. To complete his disgrace, the emperor called himself a *tributary*, making use of the term *Na-koong*.

Shin-tsoong, the sixth emperor, is described as having hastened the fall of his race, by attending to the absurd suggestions of a minister, who was for reverting to the antiquated maxims of *Yaou* and *Shun*, names which may almost be said to belong rather to the mythology than the history of the empire. A length Wei-tsoong, the eighth sovereign in succession, enslaved himself to the eunuchs, and soon experienced the consequences of his weakness and imbecility. The Eastern Tartars advanced apace, took possession of a part of northern China, and threatened the whole country; they were destined, however, to be checked not by the Chinese, but the Mongols. These

d the countries which extend from the northern provinces of China to Thibet and Samarcand. y had already conquered India, and being now ed in against the *Kin*, or Eastern Tartars, they soon lued both them and the enervated Chinese, whom ' had been invited to protect.

he Mongols might be said to be masters of the hern half of modern China from the year 1234.

*Kin*, who until then had occupied a part of the inces bordering on the wall, were attacked on one by the Chinese, and on the other by the Mongols, er the command of the famous Pë-yen (*hundred-*, or Argus), who is mentioned by Marco Polo, and correctness of whose name is of itself a sufficient of of the genuineness of that early traveller's nar- ve. Their principal city was taken, and the death heir prince put an end for the present to the East- Tartars; but the remnant became the stock from ence grew the Manchows, who afterwards con- red China, and who hold it to this day in sub- ion.

When Koblai Khan had possessed himself of the thern part of the empire, he took occasion of the ncy of the reigning Chinese emperor to use an ar- nent convenient to his purpose. "Your family," l he, "owes its rise to the minority of the last em- or of the preceding house; it is therefore just that remains of Soong should give place to another ily." The famous Pë-yen pursued the Chinese y first to Fokien, and afterwards to Hoey-chow in on province. Great cruelty was exercised on the quished, and it is recorded that "the blood of the ple flowed in sounding torrents." The remains of Chinese court betook themselves to the sea near on, and perished, A.D. 1281.

On the accession of Koblai Khan, the first of the n dynasty, the favourite religion of the Tartars ng that of Budh, or Fö, of which the grand Lama of *bet is the head*, an order was promulged to burn all *books of the Taou sect*. An exception was sug-

gested in favour of the Taou-tê-king, as the only really inspired writing of that religion; but the order was made peremptory to burn them all. The historian, a Confucian, observes, that his majesty, who favoured Buddhism, and those of his predecessors who had encouraged the other persuasion, were equally erroneous and partial; both doctrines should have been extinguished. Buddhism, in fact, has never flourished as it did under the Mongol Tartar race.

Koblai fixed the seat of government at Peking, or Kambalu, as it is styled by Marco Polo after the Tartars. As the most effectual remedy for the sterility of the plain in which that capital is situated, he constructed the vast *canal*, extending south a distance of about 300 leagues into the most fertile provinces, and serving as an easy conveyance for their products, independently of a sea navigation. This great work, which is more particularly described in its proper place, was a benefit to China, by itself sufficient to redeem in some measure the injustice and violence by which the Mongol possessed himself of the empire.

The northern portion of China was now known by the name Kathai, or Cathay, the appellation invariably given to it by the Venetian traveller. The southern was styled Manjee, which is evidently a corruption of *Mantsze*, originally applied to the barbarians of the south. There is a portion of Ava bordering on China at this day called Manchegee, which probably has the same derivation. Notwithstanding the great qualities of Koblai, which were calculated to lay the foundations of a permanent dominion, the degeneracy of his successors was such as to cause the empire to pass out of the hands of the Mongol race in a little more than eighty years' time. There is scarcely anything worthy of notice in their annals, save the rapid and excessive degeneracy of these Tartar princes. Koblai had wisely adopted the *political institutions* of China; but those who followed *him surpassed the Chinese themselves in their luxury and effeminacy.* Enervated by the climate and vice

he south, they quickly lost the courage and hardi-  
 d which had put the country in possession of their  
 estors ; and Shunty, the ninth emperor in succes-  
 , was compelled to resign the empire to a Chinese.  
 is worthy of remark, that, of the score of dynas-  
 which have followed each other, all established  
 nselves on the vices, luxuries, or indolence of their  
 mediate forerunners. The present Manchow race  
 already shown no unequivocal symptoms of dege-  
 cy. The two greatest princes by whom it has  
 n distinguished, Kang-hy and Kien-loong, sedu-  
 ly maintained the ancient habits of their Tartar  
 jects by frequent hunting excursions beyond the  
 l, in which they individually bore no small share  
 the fatigue and danger. The late emperor, Kea-  
 g, and the present one, have, on the other hand, been  
 arkable for their comparative indolence ; and the  
 ns of both have exhibited a mere succession of  
 olts and troubles. The following is part of an  
 ct issued by the reigning monarch in 1824 :—  
 With reference to the autumnal hunt of the present  
 r, I ought to follow the established custom of my  
 decessors ; but, at the same time, it is necessary to  
 guided by the circumstances of the times, and to  
 in conformity to them. The expedition to Je-ho  
 ehoh) is also ordered to be put off for this year. It  
 an involuntary source of vexation to me : I should  
 t think of adopting this measure from a love of ease  
 d indulgence." Since that date, however, the same  
 arse has been repeated under various pretexts. The  
 anchow rule has already lasted much longer than  
 e Mongol, and, from all present appearances, a bold  
 inese adventurer might perhaps succeed in over-  
 rowing it.

The first emperor of the *Ming* dynasty, which ex-  
 lled the Mongols in 1366, had been servant to a  
 onastery of bonzes, or priests of Budh. Having  
 ined a numerous body of revolters, he soon became  
 air leader, and, after making himself master of some  
 vinces in the south, at length defeated a part of

the emperor's troops in a great battle. The Chinese now flocked to him from all parts, and, having crossed the Yellow River, he forced *Shuntz* to fly northwards, where he died soon after, leaving the empire in possession of the successful Chinese, who assumed the sovereignty, with the title of *Tae-tsoo*, or "great ancestor."

The new emperor endeavoured to establish his capital at Foongyang-foo, his native city, but was obliged, from its local disadvantages, to give it up, and adopt Nanking instead, erecting Peking into a principality for one of his younger sons, Yoong-lö. When this prince succeeded as third emperor of his family, the capital was transferred in 1408 to Peking; a principal reason perhaps being the necessity of keeping the Eastern Tartars in check. Nanking was still occupied by the *heir*, with a distinct set of tribunals, and this shows more confidence than is commonly displayed under Asiatic despotisms. It was in the same reign that Timour, or Tamerlane, died on his way to the conquest of China, in the year 1405.

During the reign of Hoong-hy, the fourth emperor of the Ming family, a great conflagration of the palace melted together a mixture of valuable metals, and from this compound were constructed numbers of vases, which are highly valued at the present day. In this, the reader may perceive an origin somewhat similar to that of the famous Corinthian brass. Some of the Chinese vases, so highly esteemed, were seen by the British embassy near Nanking, in 1816. It is a common practice, however, at present, to put the name of the above emperor on vases which have no pretensions whatever to this antique value.

It was in the same dynasty that the Portuguese, as we have already seen, came to China, and obtained, about the middle of the sixteenth century, their imperfect tenure of Macao; and it was also under the *Ming* race that the Jesuits established themselves in China. The zeal and address with which these intelligent and adventurous men opened a way for themselves and their mission, is deserving of high praise.



d the knowledge which some of them obtained of the language, manners, and institutions of the country, never perhaps been surpassed by any other Europeans. Had it not been for the narrow-minded bigotry and intolerance with which some of the popes, and the monks whom they deputed to China, frustrated the labours of the more sober-minded Jesuits, Europeans and their religion might at this day enjoy a very different footing in the empire.

In the year 1618, Wanlië, the thirteenth emperor of the Chinese dynasty, being on the throne, a war commenced with the Eastern Tartars, who now called their country (the present Moungden) Manchow, which means "the full region." We have before seen that, just previous to the Mongol conquest, and during the latter part of the Soong dynasty, these Eastern Tartars, under the name of *Kin*, or the "golden" race, had subdued the northern portion of the north of China, but were driven out by the Mongols. When the last of the Mongols, descendants of Koblai Khan, were expelled from China, the founder of the *Ming*, or Chinese race, they sought refuge among the Eastern Tartars, and from their intermarriages with the natives sprung the Bogdoin Tartars, or Manchow princes, who were destined to overthrow the Ming. It is in this manner that the emperors of the present dynasty derive their descent from Koblai Khan.

It was Tien-ming, the lineal ancestor of the family now reigning, who in the time of Wanlië drew up a memorial containing seven subjects of grievance, one of which he formally attacked China, with the view of doing himself justice. He entered the province of Peking at the head of 50,000 men, and was preparing to besiege the capital, when he was repulsed, and compelled to retire for a while to Leaoutung, north of the Great Wall. His title, *Tien-ming*, literally means "Heaven's decree." The contest was subsequently resumed, and lasted with various success until the last emperor of Ming succeeded in 1627. This seemed insensible to the danger which threat-

ened him, and, instead of repelling the Tartars, estranged his own subjects by his ill-conduct, driving at length a portion of them to revolt. The leader of the rebels subdued the provinces Honán\* and Shensy, and murdered the principal mandarins; but in order to gain their assistance, he freed the people from all taxes and contributions. The success of this policy soon enabled him to invest Peking with a very large army. The emperor, preferring death to being taken by the rebels, retired with his only daughter, whom he first stabbed, and then put an end to his own existence with a cord, A.D. 1643. Thus perished the last Chinese emperor; and the spot where he died was pointed out to the late Sir George Staunton in 1793.\* The way in which a comparatively small nation of Tartars possessed themselves of China will now appear.

On the death of the emperor, the usurper met with universal submission, both at Peking and in the provinces, with the exception of the General Woosankwei, who commanded an army near Eastern Tartary. The latter fortified himself in a city which he commanded, and was presently besieged by the successful rebel, who showed him his father in chains, threatening to put him to death if the town was not surrendered. The father exhorted his son to hold out, and submitted to his fate: upon which Woosankwei, to revenge his death, as well as that of the emperor, made peace with the Manchows, and called them in to his assistance against the rebels. The usurper was in this manner soon defeated; but the Tartar king proceeding to the capital, was so well received there, and conducted matters with such dexterity, that he had at length found no difficulty in taking upon himself the sovereignty. Being seized with a mortal sickness, he had time to appoint his son Shun-chy, then a boy, as his successor, A.D. 1644, and thus commenced the *Manchow Tartar* dynasty, of which the sixth emperor is *now* reigning.

\* Embassy, vol. ii. p. 121.

Several cities of the south still held out against this foreign government, and particularly the maritime province of Fokien, which was not subdued until some years afterwards. The conquered Chinese were now compelled to shave the thick hair, which their nation had been accustomed to wear from the most ancient times as a cherished ornament, and to betake themselves to the Tartar fashion of a long plaited tress, or tail. In other respects, too, they were commanded to adopt the Tartar habit on pain of death; and many are said to have died in preference to submission. Their new rulers must, indeed, have felt themselves sufficiently strong before they issued such an order. Many are the changes which may be made in despotic countries, without the notice, or even knowledge, of the larger portion of the community; but an entire alteration in the national costume affects every individual equally, from the highest to the lowest, and is perhaps, of all others, the most open and degrading mark of conquest. It can never be submitted to, except by a people who are thoroughly subdued; nor ever imposed, except by a government that feels itself able to carry a measure, which is perhaps resorted to principally for the purpose of trying, or of breaking, the spirit of the conquered. The ancient Chinese costume is now very exactly represented on the stage of their theatre, to which it is exclusively confined.

Such was the repugnance of the Chinese to the Tartar rule, that during the eighteen years of the first emperor's reign, a portion of the south remained unsubdued, and a very formidable opponent to the new dynasty existed on the sea. This was Ching-she-loong, father to the maritime leader Koshinga, whom we have already had occasion to mention as the person who took Formosa from the Dutch. According to the policy always adopted, of effecting by compromise what cannot be accomplished by force, Shun-chy offered him honours and rewards at Peking, on condition that he would submit. *The father accepted the invitation, leaving his fleet with his son, and was well received;*

but Koshinga remained true to the Chinese cause, and subsequently co-operated with the adherents to the late dynasty on shore, committing great ravages with his fleet along the coast. Kang-hy, the second Tartar emperor, adopted the vigorous measure of compelling his subjects in the six maritime provinces to retire thirty Chinese *ly*, or three leagues inwards from the coast, on pain of death. Thus, at the expense of destruction to a number of towns and villages, and of loss to the inhabitants, the power and resources of Koshinga were reduced, and his grandson was at length prevailed on to give up Formosa to the emperor, and accept the gift of a title for himself, A.D. 1683.

The final establishment of the Manchow Tartars in China is doubtless attributable, in no small measure, to the personal character of Kang-hy, who is perhaps the greatest monarch that ever ruled the country, and who had the singular fortune to reign for sixty years. By his hunting excursions beyond the Great Wall, when he really proceeded at the head of a large army, he kept up the military character of the Tartars; while at the same time his vigilant care was not wanting in the south. During the year 1689 he proceeded along the grand canal to Nanking, and thence to the famous city of Soochow. At that opulent and luxurious place, it is said that carpets and silk stuffs being laid along the streets by the inhabitants, the emperor dismounted, and made his train do the same, proceeding thus to the palace on foot, in order that the people's property might not be injured.

His liberal and enlightened policy was strikingly displayed on two occasions of foreign intercourse. First, in the boundary and commercial treaty with Russia, of which Père Gerbillon has given an account, and which was consequent on a dispute that occurred at the frontier station of Yacsa. Gerbillon was sent by Kang-hy (whose numerous favours to the Catholic mission have already been noticed) to assist the negotiation as translator; and his detail of the expedition is given in the fourth volume of Du Halde. The mis-

sion proceeded in 1688, but circumstances prevented its completion until the following year; for the Eleuths or Kalmucs being then at war with the Kalka Tartars, and the route of the expedition lying along the country of the latter, it was thought prudent at first to return. The second instance is that embassy in 1713 to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, then settled on the north bank of the Caspian, of which a translation has been given by the present Sir George Staunton from the original Chinese. This is the most remote expedition that has ever been undertaken from China in modern times; and the details of the journey, with the emperor's own instructions for the conduct of his ambassador, are especially curious. Kang-hy subsequently gained considerable glory by the conquest of the above-mentioned Eleuths, who had long given great trouble in the regions about Thibet; and the exploits and triumphs of the emperor's army having been portrayed by a French missionary, in a series of skilful drawings, these were sent by the desire of Kang-hy to Paris, and there engraved on copper-plates. They contain a very faithful representation of Chinese and Tartar costumes and court ceremonies, and are by far the best things of the kind in existence.

Yoong-ching, the immediate successor of this great emperor, was remarkable for little else than for his violent persecution of the Catholic priests, who had certainly rendered themselves sufficiently obnoxious, by their imprudent conduct, to the rulers of China. Kien-loong, who succeeded in 1736, and who, like his great predecessor, Kang-hy, had the unusual fortune to reign for sixty years, was no unworthy inheritor of the fame and dominion of his grandfather. He encouraged the Chinese learning by cultivating it in his own person, and some of his poetical compositions are considered to possess intrinsic merit, independently of their being the productions of an emperor. The principal military transaction of his reign, remarkable, upon the whole, for its peaceful and prosperous course, was an expedition against the *Meaon-tse* the race of

mountaineers already described on the borders of Kuei-chow, and not far removed from the Canton province. The emperor boasted that they were subdued; but there is reason to believe that this hardy people, intrenched in the natural fortifications of their rude and precipitous mountains, lost little of the real independence which they had enjoyed for ages, and that they were "*triumphati magis quam victi*." They have never submitted to the Tartar tonsure, the most conclusive mark of conquest; and their renewed acts of hostility, as late as the year 1832, gave serious alarm and trouble to the Peking government.

The first British embassy ever sent to China was received by Kien-loong in 1793, and the liberal conduct of that monarch in dispensing with the performance of the prostration on the part of Lord Macartney, contrasts strongly with the petty species of trickery by which that Tartar act of homage, called the Ko-tow, was sought to be extorted from Lord Amherst in 1816, by his successor Kea-king; or rather by the ministers, for the emperor subsequently disavowed his knowledge of their proceedings. It may be reasonably supposed that Kien-loong, at the end of a long and prosperous reign, felt sufficiently assured of his own power and greatness to dispense with such a ceremony; and that the authority of his son having been shaken by frequent insurrections, and even by some attempts against his life, this circumstance rendered him, or at least his court, more tenacious of external forms. It has been ascertained, however, that the agency of the provincial government of Canton was powerfully exerted against the last embassy.

When the reign of Kien-loong, like that of his grandfather, had in 1795 reached the unusual term of sixty years, which just completes a revolution of the Chinese cycle, he resigned the throne to his son, with the title of emperor, while he reserved to himself that of the *Supreme Emperor*, though he retired altogether from state affairs, and lived but a short time afterwards. Kea-king was ill-calculated to maintain the

imperial dignity after such a monarch as his father. Serra, a Catholic missionary, many years employed at Peking, obtained a very particular account of his habits, which were extremely profligate, and may account for the risks to which his life was exposed from assassins. After the early morning audience from which no emperor can excuse himself, and having despatched the business submitted to him, he generally retired to the company of players, and afterwards drank to excess. He would frequently proceed with players to the interior of the palace, and it was remarked that his two younger sons bore no resemblance to himself, or to each other. He went so far as to carry the comedians with him, when he proceeded to sacrifice at the temples of heaven and earth. This, with other circumstances, was noticed in a memorial by the famous *Soong-keun*, or Soong-ta-jin, one of the censors, and the conductor and friend of Lord Macartney while in China. When summoned by the emperor, and asked what punishment he deserved, he answered, "A slow and ignominious death." When told to choose another, he said, "beheading;" and on the third occasion he chose "strangling."\* He was ordered to retire, and on the following day the court appointed him governor of the Chinese Siberia, the region of Tartary to which criminals are exiled: thus (as Serra observes) acknowledging his rectitude, though unable to bear his censure.

When the reign of Kea-king, unmarked by any events except the suppression of some formidable revolts and conspiracies, had reached the twenty-fourth year, the occurrence of the sixtieth anniversary of the emperor's age was celebrated by a universal jubilee throughout the empire. Even with private individuals, the attainment of the sixtieth year (a revolution of the cycle) is marked by a particular celebration. In 1819 the national jubilee was observed, as usual, by a remission of all arrears of land-tax; by a general

\* The three gradations of capital punishment.

pardon or mitigation of punishment to criminals ; and by the admission of double the usual number of candidates to degrees at the public examinations. The celebration of one man's age by two or three *hundred millions* of people is rather an imposing festival, and could happen to none but the Emperor of China. Kea-king, however, only survived it by a single year ; and his death, in 1820, was the occasion of some curious information being obtained relative to the mode of succession, and other particulars.

The emperor's *will*, a very singular document, was published to the people. In it was this passage :—“The Yellow River has, from the remotest ages, been *China's sorrow*. Whenever the mouth of the stream has been impeded by sand-banks, it has, higher up its course, created alarm by overflowing the country. On such occasions I have not spared the imperial treasury to embank the river, and restore the waters to their former channel. Since a former repair of the river was completed, six or seven years of tranquillity had elapsed, when last year, in the autumn, the excessive rains caused an unusual rise of the water, and in Honán the river burst its banks at several points, both on the south and north sides. The stream Woochy forced a passage to the sea, and the mischief done was immense. During the spring of this year, just as those who conducted the repair of the banks had reported that the work was finished, the southern bank at Ee-fong again gave way.” The mention of this subject in the emperor's will is a sufficient proof of its importance. If the science of European engineers could put an effectual stop to the evil, it would be the most important physical benefit that was ever conferred on the empire ; but the jealousy of China is not likely to let the experiment be very soon tried. Even the European trade at Canton was annually taxed to meet the repairs of the Yellow River.

The emperor's *will* proceeds to state the merits of *his second son*, the present sovereign, Taou-kuáng, in *having shot two of the assassins* who entered the



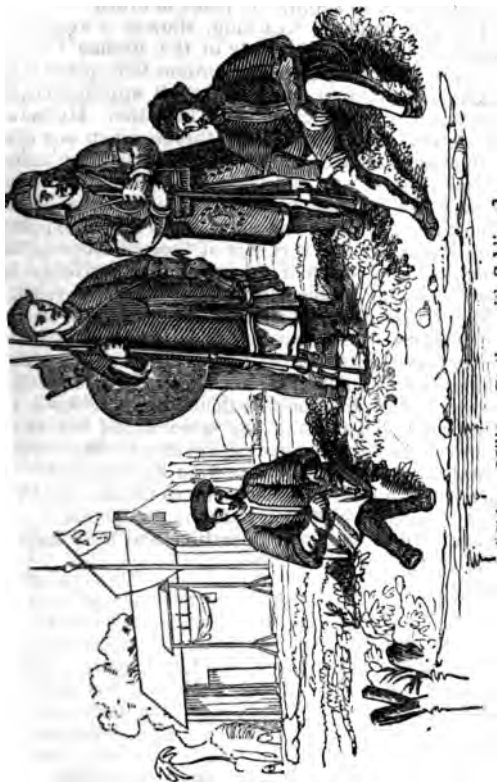
palace in 1813, which was the reason of his selection. It has been even supposed that Kea-king's death was hastened by some discontented persons of high rank, who had been lately disgraced in consequence of the mysterious loss of an official seal. The emperor's death was announced to the several provinces by despatches written with *blue* ink, the mourning colour. All persons of condition were required to take the red silk ornament from their caps, with the ball or button of rank: all subjects of China, without exception, were called upon to forbear from shaving their heads for one hundred days, within which period none might marry, or play on musical instruments, or perform any sacrifice.

The personal character of the present emperor is much better than that of his father, but the lofty title which he chose for his reign, *Taou-kuang*, "the glory of reason," has hardly been supported. The most disgraceful act of his administration was the murder, in 1828, of the Mahomedan Tartar prince, Jehanghir, who had surrendered himself in reliance on the faith of promises. It is supposed, indeed, that the reduction of those tribes towards Cashgar, effected by the aid of the Mongol Tartars that intervene, was marked by more than the usual share of Chinese treachery and craft. This war was a source of serious anxiety and expense to the emperor, whose reign has been infested by a continual succession of public calamities and by more revolts and insurrections than have been known since the time of the first emperor of the Manchow dynasty. Subsequent to the termination of the troubles with the independent mountaineers north-west of Canton, which has been mentioned in another chapter, a very singular paper was written by a Chinese, stating the submission of the enemy to be a mere imposition on the emperor by his officers, and a public disgrace. He said that the imperial commissioners had expended 500,000 taëls of silver for a sham surrender, and the appearance of victory, and wondered at their audacity in *receiving the rewards of peacocks' feathers*,

and other marks of favour. The money was represented to have been thrown away, for the mountaineers had disowned the authority of those who accepted it, and remained as independent as ever.

There must be a good deal of truth in this, or a Chinese would hardly have exposed himself to the risk of being the author; and it is a singular picture of the existing state of the empire. Many have been led by the events of recent years to surmise that the end of the Tartar dominion in China is at hand; its establishment and continuance is certainly a fact not much less extraordinary (when the disproportion of the conquerors to the conquered is considered) than the British dominion in India: and the Mongol race were driven out by the Chinese after a much shorter possession than the Manchows have already enjoyed. These have had the prudence and wisdom to leave the Chinese in possession of their own forms and institutions in most instances, and to mould those of the Tartars to them; but distinctions sufficiently broad are still maintained to prevent the amalgamation of the original people with their masters. A symptom of weakness in the government is its extreme dread of numerous associations among the people; one of which, the Triad Society, has for its known object the expulsion of the Manchows.

An insurrection broke out in the island of Formosa towards the close of 1832, accompanied by the death of a large portion of the troops, and of the greater number of mandarins on the spot, and the origin of it was attributed to the oppression of the emperor's government. A Tartar general, after the lapse of a few months, was despatched in all haste from Peking, with power to take troops from the different provinces at his need, and in a short time it was heard that the insurrection was over, and the troops countermanded. This sudden restoration of tranquillity was hardly less surprising, after violence had proceeded to such lengths, *than the speedy submission of the mountaineers; but it was never clearly ascertained whether it was effected*



[Chinese Military Station, with Soldiers.]

by force, or by the divisions of the inhabitants; or whether money had been used, as in the case of the mountaineers, to supply the place of arms.

The last emperor, Kea-king, showed a very determined aversion and hostility to the Roman Catholic religion, and numerous persecutions took place in his reign. The present monarch, by all appearances, inherited the same disposition from his father. He had no succeeded many weeks to the throne, when one of his high officers evinced his zeal by an accusation against certain Chinese who had been detected in the practice of what is called the "religion of the western ocean." A still more unequivocal proof exists in the expulsion from Peking of the very last of those European missionaries, who for their astronomical knowledge had been attached in succession, for about 200 years, to that tribunal or board whose business it is to observe the motions of the heavenly bodies, and to construct the imperial calendar. It is probable that the present Chinese astronomers have acquired sufficient practical knowledge for the rough calculation of eclipses, and other routine matters of the same kind; but in the course of time another generation may perhaps require a fresh inoculation of science from Europe, and it will then befit Protestant missionaries to imitate the learning and enterprise of their Catholic predecessors,—but to avoid their want of moderation, and their disputes with each other about trifles.

## CHAPTER VII.

## GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION.

has somewhere the following remark.

*peuple dont l'histoire est ennuyeuse ;*" the characteristic of Chinese history, if in current of its annals for a long time ruled by disorder and anarchy than can most other countries, we must look for the fundamental principles of its government maxims by which this is administered. It is well known that *parental authority* is the basis of political rule in China—that natural principle which almost every man finds himself at the earliest dawn of his perceptions. In fact, by a consideration of the lasting impressions on the human mind, the various countries have thought that they should secure the stability of their fabric, by basing their government on a principle which is the most natural and the most remote from infancy, and the least likely to be in question.

Not this was the design with which the government has been so long perpetuated in China. It is certain that, being at once the most simple and simplest, it has for that reason been the most easily maintained among the various societies. The North American tribes call all this "the way of heaven." However well calculated to promote the peace and welfare of small tribes or nations, China, perhaps, in some respects differs from the *large empires*, where the supreme power is exercised almost entirely by dis-

tant delegation, it is liable to degenerate into a mere fiction, excellently calculated to strengthen and perpetuate the hand of despotism, but retaining little of the paternal character beyond its absolute authority. It is the policy of the Chinese government to grant to fathers over their children the *patria potestas* in full force, as the example and the sanction of its own power.

There is nothing more remarkable in their ritual, and in their criminal code, than the exact parallel which is studiously kept up between the relations in which every person stands to his own parents, and to the emperor. For similar offences against both he suffers similar punishments; at the death of both he mourns the same time, and goes the same period unshaven; and both possess nearly the same power over his person. Thus he is bred up to civil obedience, "*tenero ab ungui*," with every chance of proving a *quiet* subject at least. Such institutions certainly do not denote the existence of much liberty; but if peaceful obedience and universal order be the sole objects in view, they argue, on the part of the governors, some knowledge of human nature, and an adaptation of the means to the end.

In the book of Sacred Instructions, addressed to the people, founded on their ancient writings, and read publicly by the principal magistrates on the days that correspond to the new and full moon, the sixteen discourses of which it consists are headed by that which teaches the duties of children to parents, of juniors to elders, and (thence) of the people to the government. The principle is extended thus, in a quotation from the sacred books:—"In our general conduct, not to be orderly is to fail in filial duty; in serving our sovereign, not to be faithful is to fail in filial duty; in acting as a magistrate, not to be careful is to fail in filial duty; in the intercourse of friends, not to be sincere is to fail in filial duty; in arms and in war, not to be brave is to fail in filial duty." The claims of elders are enforced thus:—"The duty to parents

and the duty to elders are indeed similar in obligation ; or he who can be a pious son will also prove an obedient younger brother ; and he who is *both* will, while at home, prove an honest and orderly subject, and in active service, from home, a courageous and faithful soldier. . . . May you all, O soldiers and people conform to these our instructions, evincing your good dispositions by your conduct and actions, each fulfilling his duty as a son and a junior, according to the example which is left you by the wise and holy men of former times. The wisdom of the ancient emperors, Yaou and Shun, had its foundation in these essential ties of human society. Mencius has said, ' Were all men to honour their kindred and respect their elders, the world\* would be at peace. ' "

But the government does not confine itself to preaching ; domestic rebellion is treated in nearly all respects as treason ; being, in fact, *petit treason*. A special edict of the last emperor went beyond the established law in a case which occurred in one of the central provinces. A man and his wife had beaten and otherwise severely ill-used the mother of the former. This being reported by the viceroy to Peking, it was determined to enforce in a signal manner the fundamental principle of the empire. The very place where it occurred was anathematized, as it were, and made accursed. The principal offenders were put to death ; the mother of the wife was bamboozed, branded, and exiled for her daughter's crime ; the scholars of the district for three years were not permitted to attend the public examination, and their promotion thereby stopped ; the magistrates were deprived of their office and banished. The house in which the offenders dwelt was dug up from the foundations. " Let the viceroy," the edict adds, " make known this proclamation, and let it be dispersed through the whole empire, that the people may all learn it. And if there be any rebellious children who oppose, beat, or de-

\* *Meaning China.*

grade their parents, they shall be punished in like manner. If ye people indeed know the renovating principle, then fear and obey the imperial will, nor look on this as empty declamation. For now, according to this case of *Teng-chen*, wherever there are the like I resolve to condemn them, and from my heart strictly charge you to beware. I instruct the magistrates of every province severely to warn the heads of families and elders of villages; and on the 2nd and 16th of every month to read the Sacred Instructions, in order to show the importance of the relations of life, that persons may not rebel against their parents—for I intend to render the empire filial." This was addressed to a population estimated commonly at 300,000,000.

"The vital and universally operating principle of the Chinese government," says Sir George Staunton, "is the duty of submission to parental authority, whether vested in the parents themselves, or in their representatives, and which, although usually described under the pleasing appellation of filial piety, is much more properly to be considered as a general rule of action than as the expression of any particular sentiment of affection. It may easily be traced even in the earliest of their records; it is inculcated with the greatest force in the writings of the first of their philosophers and legislators; it has survived each successive dynasty, and all the various changes and revolutions which the state has undergone; and it continues to this day powerfully enforced both by positive laws and by public opinion.

"A government constituted upon the basis of parental authority, thus highly estimated and extensively applied, has certainly the advantage of being directly sanctioned by the immutable and ever-operating laws of nature, and must thereby acquire a degree of firmness and durability to which governments, founded on the fortuitous superiority of particular individuals, either in strength or abilities, and continued only through the hereditary influence of



ne Chinese have been distinguished ever first existence as a nation; by such ties and increasing population of China is still the people, subject to one supreme government, uniform in its habits, manners, and language. It, in spite of every internal and external it may possibly very long continue."

business of the first of the "Four Books" is to inculcate, that from the knowledge of *oneself* must proceed the proper government of a family; from the government of a family, that of a province and of a

The emperor is called the father of the empire, the viceroy, of the province over which he presides, and the mandarin, of the city which he presides over. The father of every family is the absolute ruler of his own household. Peace and order being deemed the one thing, the object is very steadily and consistently the same. The system derives some of its efficacy from the ritual and universal inculcation of obedience, in unbroken series, from one end to the other; beginning in the relation of children to their parents, continuing through that of subjects to the aged, of the uneducated to the educated, terminating in that of the people to their

the wealth of the empire, the cheerful and the industry of the people, and their unconquerable attachment to their country, are all of them qualities which prove, that, if the government is maintaining its rights, it is not altogether ignorant of its duties. We are no unqualified

admirers of the Chinese system, but would willingly explain, if possible, some of the causes which tend to the production of results whose existence nobody pretends to deny. In practice there is of course a great deal of inevitable abuse, but upon the whole, and with relation to ultimate effects, the machine works well, and we repeat that the surest proofs of this are apparent on the very face of the most cheerfully industrious and orderly, and the most wealthy, nation of Asia. It may be observed that we make great account of the circumstance of *cheerful* industry; because this characteristic, which is the first to strike all visitors of China, is the best proof in the world that the people possess their full share of the results of their own labour. Men do not toil either willingly or effectively for hard masters.

It would be a very rash conclusion to form any estimate of the insecurity of property *generally* from what is observed at Canton among those connected with the *foreign trade*, and especially the Hong merchants. These persons are instruments in the hands of a cautious government, which, not wishing to come into immediate collision with foreigners, uses them in the manner of a sponge, that, after being allowed to absorb the gains of a licensed monopoly, is made regularly to yield up its contents, by what is very correctly termed "squeezing." The rulers of China consider foreigners fair game: they have no sympathy with them, and, what is more, they diligently and systematically labour to destroy all sympathy on the part of their subjects, by representing the strangers to them in every light that is the most contemptible and odious. There is an annual edict or proclamation displayed at Canton at the commencement of the commercial season, accusing the foreigners of the most horrible practices, and desiring the people to have as little to say to them as possible. We have already seen that the professed rule is to *govern them* "like beasts," and not as the subjects of the empire. With perfect consistency, therefore, they

the equal benefits and protection of the  
 rs of the country, condemned to death for  
 homicide, and executed without the em-  
 rant. These were their real subjects of  
 in China; and previous to the late war  
 ighteous and equitable grounds of quarrel,  
 to the insults and outrages heaped on the  
 presentative.

return to the Hong merchants and others at  
 here is in fact a set of laws existing under  
 a Tartar government, which makes all trans-  
 Chinese with foreigners, without an express  
*authorious*—that is the word—and it forms a  
 gine of extortion; for the construction of  
 of the licence, as well as of the particular  
 from time to time enacted, opens a wide  
 justice under the forms of law. This is the  
 on of the anomaly, that at Canton, in a  
 here there is a written code with numerous  
 against extortion and oppression, and with  
 inciations against the abuse of power, there  
 be so much of the evil apparently exist-  
 it is the foreigner that pays, after all; the  
 chants are the *véritables vaches à lait*, the  
 cows, while the foreign trade is the pasture  
 they range. One of the ablest of their body  
 s since obtained the express authority of  
 overnment for the Consol or body of Hong  
 to levy charges at its own discretion on the  
 de, for the avowed purpose of paying the  
 of the mandarins. Other annual charges  
 d to defray debts of individual merchants  
 ers, and, the debts being liquidated, the  
 ere *continued*. But for these abuses, the  
 of Canton would have been much more

e system cannot by any means be practised  
*ies only* are concerned; and, if it could, the  
 ould *present a very different appearance*.  
*ry wealth is of course exposed to danger*.

As regards the peaceful and orderly character by which the Chinese, as a nation, are distinguished, there is much truth in another remark of Montesquieu, namely, that the government had this object in view when it prescribed a certain code of ceremonies and behaviour to its subjects; "a very proper method of inspiring mild and gentle dispositions, of maintaining peace and good order, and of banishing all the vices which spring from an asperity of temper." They certainly are, upon the whole, among the most good-humoured people in the world, as well as the most peaceable; and the chief causes of this must be sought for in their political and social institutions. Of the sixteen lectures periodically delivered to the people, the second is "on union and concord among kindred;" the third, "on concord and agreement among neighbours;" the ninth, "on mutual forbearance;" the sixteenth, "on reconciling animosities." Here perhaps we may perceive, also, the sources of their characteristic timidity, which is accompanied by its natural associates, the disposition to cunning and fraud.

The Chinese have lived so much in peace, that they have acquired by habit and education a more than common horror of political disorder. "Better be a dog in peace, than a man in anarchy," is a common maxim. "It is a general rule," they say, "that the worst of men are fondest of change and commotion, hoping that they may thereby benefit themselves; but by adherence to a steady, quiet system, affairs proceed without confusion, and bad men have nothing to gain." They are, in short, a *nation of steady conservatives*. At the same time, that only check of Asiatic despotism—the endurance of the people—appears from their history to have exercised a salutary influence. The first emperor of the Ming family observed, "The bowstring drawn violently will break; the people pressed hard, will rebel." Another sovereign observed to his heir, "You see that the boat in which we sit is supported by the water, which at the same

time is able, if roused, to overwhelm it: remember that the water represents the people, and the emperor only the boat." Amidst all the internal revolutions of China it is deserving of remark, that no single instance has ever occurred of an attempt to change the form of that pure monarchy which is founded in, or derived from, patriarchal authority. The only object has been, in most cases, the destruction of a tyrant; or when the country was divided into several states, the acquisition of universal power by the head of one of them.

This people has, perhaps, derived some advantage from the habit of reserving its respect exclusively for those objects which may be considered as the original and legitimate sources of that feeling. There is much truth in the observations of Mr. Rogers, in a note to one of his poems:—"Age was anciently synonymous with power; and we may always observe that the old are held in more or less honour, as men are more or less virtuous. Among us, and wherever birth and possession give rank and authority, the young and the profligate are seen continually above the old and the worthy; there age can never find its due respect: but among many of the ancient nations it was otherwise; and they reaped the benefit of it. 'Rien ne maintient plus les mœurs qu'une extrême subordination des jeunes gens envers les vieillards. Les uns et les autres seront contenus: ceux-là par le respect qu'ils auront pour les vieillards, et ceux-ci par le respect qu'ils auront pour eux-mêmes.'" (*Montesquieu*.) We have before mentioned that the Chinese possess this antiquated habit; but their regard for age, even, is secondary to their respect for learning. "In learning," says their maxim, "age and youth go for nothing: the best informed takes the precedence." The chief source of rank and consideration in China is certainly cultivated talent; and, whatever may be the character of the learning on which it is exercised, this at least is a more legitimate, and to society at large a more beneficial object of respect, than the vulgar pre-

tensions of wealth and fashion, or the accident of mere birth.

Wealth alone, though it has of course some sary influence, is looked upon with less respect paratively, than perhaps in any other country this *because* all distinction and rank arises entirely from educated talent. The choice of persons, who form the real aristocracy of the c is guided, with a very few exceptions, by the sion of those qualities, and the country is thereby ruled as it could be under the circumstances. "Les lettrés (observed a correspondent of our Peking) ainsi honorés par les Hân, ont acc grand ascendant sur le peuple; la politique s emparé dans toutes les dynasties, et c'est sans cette réunion des esprits que la Chine doit sa heur, sa paix, et sa prospérité." The official cracy, content with their solid rank and power at no external display: on the contrary, a affection, on their part, of patriarchal sin operates as a sumptuary law, and gives a correcting tone to the habits of the people. We are to admit that some evil results from this: super wealth, in the hands of the vulgar possessors, driven to find a vent occasionally in the gratification of private sensuality.

Superfluous wealth, however, is no very occurrence in China. A man's sons divide his property between them, or rather live upon it in mon; and the only right of primogeniture se consist in the eldest being a sort of steward or for the estate. The temptations to immoderate mulation are not so great as with us, nor the tunities for it so frequent, where the ordinary ch of commerce are liable neither to such spring nor to such violent ebbs. We must repeat th fortunes made by Hoppo and Hong merchants Canton are no examples whatever of the usual of things in the empire, in cases where native are concerned. The real aristocracy of the

ing official, and not hereditary, there are no families to be perpetuated by a system of entails; and, if a man were willing to transmit his possessions in the hope of endless settlements, the law will not let him.

It is an observation of Hume, that "the absence of any hereditary aristocracy may secure the intestine tranquillity of the state, by making it impossible for faction or rebellion to find any powerful heads." This, we fancy, is exactly the principle on which the Chinese government is so jealous of any undue perpetuation of greatness in families.\* There are certain hereditary titles, descending one step in rank through five generations, and the privilege of wearing the yellow and red girdles, which serve to distinguish the numerous descendants of the imperial family; but these, though they are certainly a class of titular nobility, are far from being the real aristocracy of the country, and, without personal merit, they are little considered.† The Chinese have a saying, that, "by learning, the sons of the common people become great; without learning, the sons of the great become mingled with the mass of the people."

All real rank of consequence being determined by talent, the test of this is afforded at the public examinations. These are open to the poorest persons; and only some classes, as menial servants, comedians, and the lowest agents of the police, are excluded. The government seems to consider that its own stability is best secured by placing the greatest talent, if not always the purest virtue, in offices of trust. With a view to promoting the efficiency of their standing army, the Manchow Tartar emperors have

\* There is a law in their penal code denouncing death not only to him who recommends the elevation of a civil officer to a hereditary title, but to him in whose favour the recommendation is made.

† Du Halde observes, "they have no lauds; and, as the emperor cannot give them all pensions, some live in great poverty."

established a military examination, in which the relative merit of mandarins in martial exercises is distinguished by similar grades.

It is time, however, that we proceed to consider the actual machinery of government, commencing with its supreme head, the Emperor. His titles are the "Son of Heaven," the "Ten Thousand Years." He is worshipped with divine honours, and with the attribute of ubiquity throughout the empire. The following is from an eye-witness to the celebration of the emperor's birthday at Peking,\* and the ceremony is universal and simultaneous through the chief cities of China. "The first day was consecrated to the purpose of rendering a solemn, sacred, and devout homage to the supreme majesty of the emperor. The princes, tributaries, ambassadors, great officers of state, and principal mandarins, were assembled in a vast hall, and upon particular notice were introduced into an inner building, bearing at least the semblance of a temple. It was chiefly furnished with great instruments of music, among which were sets of cylindrical bells, suspended in a line from ornamented frames of wood, and gradually diminishing in size from one extremity to the other, and also triangular pieces of metal, arranged in the same order as the bells. To the sound of these instruments, a slow and solemn hymn was sung by eunuchs, who had such a command over their voices as to resemble the effect of the musical glasses at a distance. The performers were directed in gliding from one tone to another by the striking of a shrill and sonorous cymbal; and the judges of music among the gentlemen of the embassy were much pleased with their execution. The whole had indeed a grand effect. During the performance, and at particular signals, nine times repeated, all the persons present prostrated themselves nine times, except the ambassador and his suite, who made a profound obeisance. But he whom it was meant to

\* Staunton, vol. ii. p. 255.



ed, as if it were in imitation of the the whole time. The awful impression on the minds of men by this apparent low-mortal was not to be effaced by scenes of sport or gaiety, which were a following day."

worships Heaven, and the people peror. It is remarkable that with all gn, in styling himself, uses occasionally of affected humility as "the emperor presents a contrast to the inflated expressions of most oriental monarchs. The device of state, however, is used to create the impression of awe. No person passes before the outer gate of the palace on horseback. The vacant throne, yellow silk, are equally worshipped in the emperor's presence. An imperial dispatch is sent to the provinces with offerings of incense looking towards Peking. There is a hall for the principal audience, on which sits the emperor. At the same time, the emperor's majesty could derive no increase of decorations, he is distinguished from the most Asiatic sovereigns, by being less splendid than those by whom he is surrounded. Lord Macartney's mission, while the emperor's robes were covered with embroidery, the emperor appeared in a dress of blue, and a black velvet cap with a single yellow tassel. Yellow, as the imperial colour, would rather distinguish things pertaining to the emperor than be connected with him in other ways, as the emperor's robes, as a part of his actual garments, except on the very great occasions. The sovereign has the absolute disposal of the succession, and can name his heir out of his own family, as descended from time immemorial; *monarchs*, Yaou and Shun, are famous for their mode of selection. The imperial

authority or sanction to all public acts is conveyed by the impression of a seal, some inches square, and composed of jade, a greenish white stone, called by the Chinese *Yu*. Any particular directions or remarks by the emperor himself are added in red, commonly styled "the vermilion pencil." All imperial edicts of a special nature, after being addressed to the proper tribunal, or other authority, are promulgated in the Peking Gazette, which contains nothing but what relates to the supreme government; that is, either reports to the emperor, or mandates from him. It is death to falsify any paper therein contained: but it must be observed, that these special edicts of the sovereign, as applicable to the exigencies of particular cases, either in aggravation or mitigation of punishment, are not allowed to be applied as precedents in penal jurisdiction.\* There is more wisdom in this rule than in that which gave to the rescripts of the Roman emperors, in individual cases, the force of perpetual laws—a system which has very properly been called "arguing from particulars to generals."

As Pontifex Maximus, or high-priest of the empire, the "Son of Heaven" alone, with his immediate representatives, sacrifices in the government temples, with victims and incense. These rites, preceded as they are by fasting and purification, bear a perfect resemblance to the offerings with which we are familiar in the history of antiquity. No hierarchy is maintained at the public expense, nor any priesthood attached to the Confucian or government religion, as the sovereign and his great officers perform that part. The two religious orders of *Fö* and *Taou*, which are only *tolerated*, and not maintained, by the government, derive support entirely from their own funds, or from voluntary private contributions. This remark must of course be confined to China; for in Mongol Tartary the emperor finds it expedient to show more favour to the Lamas of the Buddhist hierarchy, on account of

\* Penal Code, sect. 415.

influence over the people of those extensive . It is a striking circumstance that the Con- persuasion should have continued supreme in- though the conquerors of the country were not ans.

emperor's principal ministers form the Nuy-kô, rior council-chamber," and the chief council- four in number, two Tartars and two Chinese, ner always taking precedence: they all bear es of Choong-t'hang and Kô-laou, written by uits Colao. Below these are a number of as- who, together with them, form the great of state. The body whence these chief minis- generally selected is the Imperial College, or l Institute, of the Hân-lin. If there is any- which can be called a hierarchy of the state (which we have already stated the govern- es not maintain in a special shape), it is this . In his Memoirs of Napoleon, Bourrienne a very characteristic trait: in the classification rivate library, the emperor arranged the Bible e head of political works. Just in the same e Chinese government makes religion an en- rather a part, of political rule. The sove- high-priest, and his ministers the members of archy; and the sacred books of Confucius are and expounded by the Hân-lin college, which spect is a species of Sorbonne. Besides the : council of the emperor already mentioned, the Keun-ky-tâ-chin, a body of privy-coun- or occasions when secrecy and despatch may cularly required. The person called Duke ord Amherst's embassy, was one of these. oo-poo, or Six Boards, for the conduct of ent business in detail, are, 1. The Board of Appointments, which takes cognizance of the of all civil officers; 2. The Board of Revenue, egulates all fiscal matters; 3. The Board of id Ceremonies; 4. The Military Board; 5. reme Court of Criminal Jurisdiction; 6. The

Board of Public Works. These have all subordinate offices under them; for instance, the Astronomical Board is attached to the third, the ritual being regulated by the calendar.

The Lyfän-yuen may be literally rendered by the "office for foreign affairs." As its name imports, it has charge of the external relations of the empire. One of the presidents was deputed to receive the British embassy in 1816, and they consist always of Manchow or Mongol Tartars, no Chinese ever being employed. A very peculiar feature of the government is next observable in the Tsoochä-yuen, or office of censors, of which the members are generally styled Yu-she. There are two presidents, a Tartar and a Chinese, and the members consist in all of about forty or fifty, of which several are sent to various parts of the empire, as imperial inspectors, or perhaps, more properly speaking, spies. By the ancient custom of the empire they are privileged to present any advice or remonstrance to the sovereign without danger of losing their lives; but they are frequently degraded or punished when their addresses are unpalatable. An example of the office, and the fate of one of these, occurs at the commencement of the romance of the "Fortunate Union," published by the Oriental Translation Committee. A living example, however, is conspicuous in Soong-ta-jin, the conductor of Lord Macartney's embassy, who, at a very advanced age, is in a state of what may be styled respectable disgrace, for the boldness and honesty with which he has always spoken out.

The foregoing are the principal organs of the imperial government at Peking. The provinces are placed under the principal charge, either singly of a Fooyuen or Governor, or two provinces together are made subject to a Tsoong-tö, or "General Governor," who has Fooyuens under him for each single province. Canton and Kuäng-sy, adjoining, are together subject to the Tsoong-tö, commonly called the Viceroy of Canton. In each of these governments there is a

chief criminal judge and a treasurer, the latter having usually cognizance of civil suits, but his especial business being the charge of the territorial revenue. The latter department is sufficiently important to be under particular management of the Yen-yun-ase, or "alt mandarin," as he is called at Canton; the Chinese government, like so many others, having served to itself the monopoly of this necessary of life. The separate cities and districts of each province, the three ranks of Foo, Chow, and Hien, are under the charge of their respective magistrates, who take their rank from the cities they govern. The total number of civil magistrates throughout China is estimated at 14,000. The importance of the European trade at Canton has given rise to the special appointment there of the Haekuán or commissioner of the customs, who is called by Europeans Hoppo, a corruption of Hoo-poo, the Board of Revenue at Peking. He is generally some Tartar favourite of the emperor, set down to make his fortune by the foreign trade, and he generally contrives to do this rapidly, by squeezing the Hong merchants, over whom he has entire control.

A red book (being literally one with a red cover), six small volumes, is printed quarterly by authority, containing the name, birth-place, and other particulars relating to every official person in the empire. No individual can hold a magistracy in his own province; and each public officer is changed periodically, to prevent growing connexions and liaisons with those under his government. A son, a brother, or any other very near relation, cannot hold office under a corresponding relative. Once in three years the vice-roy of each province forwards, to the Board of Civil Appointments, the name of every officer under his government down to a Hien's deputy, with remarks on their conduct and character, which have all been received from the immediate superiors of each;—a system not unlike that which has lately been adopted in the civil government of British India. According

to this report, every officer is raised or degraded many degrees. Each magistrate is obliged to state in the catalogue of his titles, the number of steps that he has been either raised or degraded. The offences of great officers are tried by imperial commissioners specially appointed. Disturbances or rebellions in a province are never forgiven to a governor or viceroy. The governor of Canton, who only one year before had obtained signal marks of the emperor's favor, was ruined in 1832 by the rebellion or irruption of the mountaineers in the north-west, though he was quite innocent of any blame on the occasion.

The relative degrees of civil and military offices are partly distinguished by the colour of the balls which they wear at the apex or point of their conical caps. These are red, light blue, dark blue, crystal, white stone, and gold; and, with some modifications, they serve to distinguish what are called the "military ranks." Each ball is accompanied by its corresponding badge, which is a piece of silk embroidery, about a foot square, with the representation of a bird, or other device, on both the breast and back of the ceremonial habit, together with a necklace of very large "court beads" descending to the waist.

These mere outward decorations, however, are infallible signs of the real rank of the wearer, for bare permission to assume the dress, without the powers or privileges of an officer of government, may be purchased for a large sum of money. The only benefit derived is this, that, in case of a breach of the law, the individual cannot be punished *spot*, nor until he has been formally deprived of his ball, or button, a process which is not long in forming. Any Hong merchant at Canton who has purchased leave to wear the blue ball cap may be cited to appear by a magistrate of the lowest grade, who wears only a gold or rather one, and, if really criminal, he may be deprived of *his finery* and punished with the bamboo like a *privileged person*.

It may be considered as one proof of social advancement on the part of the Chinese, that the civil authority is generally superior to the military, and that letters always rank above arms, in spite even of the manner in which the Tartars obtained the empire. In this respect China may be said to have subdued her conquerors. A military mandarin of the highest grade may be often seen on foot when a civil officer of middling rank would be considered as degraded except in a chair with four bearers; the others are, not allowed chairs, but may ride. The present dynasty,



[Mandarin seated in a Sedan.—From Staunton.]

as an encouragement to its army, established examinations, or rather trials, in the military art (as in riding and shooting with the bow), at which the candidates are ranked for promotion in three degrees like the civilians, though of course they can never come in competition with each other. The value which they attach to personal strength and dexterity in a commander, and the rank which the bow and arrow hold in their estimation, seem to prove clearly that the military art is not beyond its infancy among the Chinese.

All the military of the empire are under the management of their proper tribunal or board at Peking, the power of which, however, is jealously checked by a dependence on some of the others; as the Board of

Revenue must supply the funds, and the Board of Public Works the *matériel* of the army. The trusty Tartar troops are ranged under the eight standards; viz., the yellow, white, red, and blue, together with each of these colours bordered by one of the others. The green flag distinguishes the Chinese troops. Each of the Tartar standards is said to consist of 10,000 men, making a standing army of 80,000. There is, besides, the local militia spread through the provinces; but this, from all that has been observed of it, is such a ragged and undisciplined rout as to be fit for little more than the purposes of a police.

Including this militia, the whole number receiving pay throughout the empire has been estimated at 700,000, of which by far the largest portion are fixed to their native districts, cultivating the land, or following some other private pursuit. This circumstance in a peaceful country makes the profession of a militia-man an object of solicitation, as it provides something over and above a man's ordinary means. How ill-calculated it must be to produce efficient soldiers need scarcely be argued. The reasons adduced by Adam Smith, in his third volume, to prove the superiority of the militia of a barbarous nation over that of a civilized one, are quite conclusive on the subject, and best illustrated by the conquest of this very country by the Manchows, a mere maniple of a nation.

The missionaries themselves, quoted by Du Halde, who were much more accustomed to magnify than diminish the merit of anything Chinese, seemed to be aware of the inferiority of these troops as soldiers. "They are not comparable," it is observed, "to our troops in Europe for either courage or discipline, and they are easily disordered and put to the rout. Besides that the Chinese are naturally effeminate, and the Tartars are almost become Chinese, the profound peace they have enjoyed does not give them occasion to become warlike." Several circumstances conduce to prevent China from deriving such advantages as



might, to her military power, from the actual want of her opulence and population. First, that the want of education, which is a bar to all improvement in the arts, and, among the rest, the art of war. Secondly, that jealousy of the Chinese population, which prevents the Tartar government from making use of such efficient troops as it might. Thirdly, that the overwhelming superiority which the empire possesses over the petty and barbarous states on its frontiers; which, in having prevented aggressions on it, has precluded the practice and experience so necessary to make good soldiers.

The long and successful resistance of the Meaoua race of barbarians in the mountainous parts of the interior of China itself, and their independence at present time, attest the weakness of Chinese military resources, and the very moderate efficiency of their troops, which are seldom employed in anything more formidable than the suppression of a revolt in a starving province, and thus engaged, as it were, fighting with shadows. The Canton troops in 1832 were defeated by the mountaineers on the borders, and in fact proved utterly worthless, from the general want of opium, and the absence of practice and discipline. This on land: but their navy is even worse.

The long and successful career of the Ladrões, or pirates, in the vicinity of Canton, who were, after all, subdued only by the *honours* conferred on their chief for the price of his submission, is sufficient evidence of this point.

The abuses and malversation, on the part of military officers intrusted with funds for the provision of soldiers, appear to be frequent; and there is reason to suppose that some of the assumed militia of China are no better than men of straw, whose allotted funds are misapplied, if not after the example, yet in the manner, of that eminent commander Sir John Falstaff. It must have been to some such system that our embassy in 1816 was indebted for the ludicrous scenes exhibited in its progress. The emperor's edicts or-

dained that the troops should wear "an imposing aspect;" but, on approaching a town or station, numbers of fellows might be seen scouring along the banks of the river, laden with jackets and accoutrements, which were clapped on the backs of those who had been pressed for the occasion, and who betrayed, from under their assumed habiliments, the primitive dirt and rags of their condition.

Very few mounted soldiers were seen by either of our embassies, and, whatever may be their actual amount, they are said to be nearly all Tartars. A great difference seems to exist between the pay of Tartars and Chinese. One of the former, being a foot-soldier, is allowed two taëls per month, or about fivepence a day, with an allowance of rice; one of the latter, only one taël and six-tenths, without the rice. The reasons for this difference may be the following:—First, that the Tarter in China belongs to a standing army, at a distance from his home, and dependent solely on his profession; while the other is commonly, if not always, a militia-man, carrying on his own occupations when off duty. Secondly, some allowance may be made for the national partiality of the governing power, and the necessity of attaching its confidential servants by liberality.

The most common uniform of the military is a jacket of blue turned up with red, or red bordered with white, over a long petticoat of blue. The cap is either of rattan or strips of bamboo painted, being in a conical shape, and well suited to ward off a blow; though on some occasions they wear a cap of cloth and silk, similar to that of the mandarins, without the ball or button at the top. Some few are defended by a clumsy-looking quilted armour, of cloth studded with metal buttons, which descends in a long petticoat, and gives the wearer the appearance of one who could neither fight nor fly. The helmet is of iron, in the shape of an inverted funnel, having a point at the top, to which is attached a bunch of silk or horse-hair.

The principal arms of the cavalry are bows and arrows, the bow being of elastic wood and horn combined, with a string of silk strongly twisted and wrought. The strength of their bows is estimated by the weight required to bend them, varying from about eighty pounds to a hundred weight. The string, in shooting, is held behind an agate or stone ring on the right thumb, the first joint of which is bent forward and confined by the middle joint of the fore-finger being pressed upon it. Their swords are generally ill-made, and their matchlocks considered by them as inferior weapons to the bow and arrow, which they may perhaps be, considering their appearance and



[Chinese Shield.—From an Original Drawing in the India House.]



Instruments of War.

2. Some are provided with shields, constructed of iron turned spirally round a centre.

With regard to the use of artillery, Du Halde writes, with apparent reason, that, "though the knowledge of gunpowder is very ancient in China, the use of it is but modern." It is clear that, as late as

the city of Macao was invited to send three cannons to Peking, with men to manage them, against the Tartars; and equally certain that under the last emperor of the Chinese dynasty, about the year 1636, when the empire was threatened by the Manchows, the Jesuits at Peking were desired by the emperor to instruct his people in casting some cannon. But the successful operator in this way was the famous Siegenord, under whose inspection some new pieces of artillery were constructed for the Emperor K'anghy, towards the end of the seventeenth century. This was made a subject of contention against the Jesuits at Rome; but they defended themselves by arguing that it promoted the progress of Christianity, by making their services necessary to the Chinese government. It is certain that, during the course of three centuries, no mission has succeeded for a time so well as theirs, but that even now there are not a dozen European missionaries in the interior, among a population estimated at more than 300,000,000 of souls.

The highest military rank is that of a Tseang-kenn, or Star General, one of whom has charge of the troops in Canton province: this post can never be filled by a Chinese, but secondary commands may be given to these subordinate officers, promoted in regular order from the lowest grade, according to their personal strength, and their skill in shooting with the bow, combined with the activity and zeal which they occasionally display in cases of civil commotion or revolt. One very singular feature we must not fail to notice, in regard to the military officers in China. They are all subject to corporal punishment, and very often experience it, together with the

punishment of the Cangue, or movable pillory, consisting of a heavy frame of wood, sometimes upwards of a hundred pounds in weight, with holes for the head and hands. This parental allotment of a certain quantum of flagellation, and personal exposure, is occasionally the fate of the highest officers, and, upon the whole, must be regarded as a very odd way of improving their military character. It may be observed, however, that enterprising courage is not considered as a merit in Chinese tactics. They have a maxim, that "rash and arrogant soldiers must be defeated;" which may be allowed to contain some truth; and the chief virtue of their strategy is extreme caution and love of craft, not without a large share of perfidy and falsehood; so that to treat with a Chinese general, and expect him to fulfil his engagements, would be altogether a miscalculation.

We may now turn our attention to that very efficient engine for the control of its vast and densely-thronged population, the penal code of China; and this deserves the more particular notice, as affording the best data for correctly estimating the character of the people to whom it has been adapted. The most perfect code of laws in the abstract is unavailing and useless, if not congenial to the dispositions and habits of those for whom it is formed; and, without keeping this in view, we might be apt to deny to the criminal laws of China the share of praise to which they are justly entitled, after making due abatement for their plain and undeniable defects. The following testimony in their favour, from a very able critique on Sir George Staunton's version of the *Leu-lee*, must be considered as praise of a high kind.—"The most remarkable thing in this code is its great reasonableness, clearness, and consistency: the business-like brevity and directness of the various provisions, and the plainness and moderation of the language in which they are expressed. There is nothing here of

he monstrous *verbiage* of most other Asiatic productions; none of the superstitious delirium, the miserable incoherence, the tremendous *nonsequiturs* and ternal repetitions of those oracular performances; nothing even of the turgid adulation, the accumulated pithets, and fatiguing self-praise of other Eastern despotisms; but a clear, concise, and distinct series of enactments, savouring throughout of practical judgment and European good sense, and, if not always conformable to our improved notions of expediency in this country, in general approaching to them more nearly than the codes of most other nations."

After this fair tribute, the evident defects of the system, being in some measure those of the state of society in which it originated, may be pointed out. There is, in the first place, a constant meddling with, and anxiety to compel the performance of, those relative duties which are better left to the operation of any other sanctions than positive laws. The evil of his perpetual interference of the law to enforce the practice of virtues, which in great measure cease to be such on being made compulsory, is to diminish their beneficial influence on the mind; and it is on the same principle that compulsory charity, even, has been condemned (though without sufficient reason), as it exists among us in the instance of the poor laws. The Chinese carry their care beyond this life; for any person who is convicted of neglecting his occasional visits to the *tombs of his ancestors* is subject to punishment. A second defect which we may notice is that minute attention to trifles, and that excessive care to provide for every possible shade of difference that may arise between one case and another, which is supposed to the European maxim, "*de minimis non curat lex*." The Chinese, however, still stop short of the Hindoo institutes of Menu, which provide for some rare and singular contingencies. For instance, the inheritance of a son being a whole, and that of a daughter a half, there is a peculiar sagacity and foresight in directing that the portion of a hermaphrodite

shall be half of the one, and half of the other, or three-fourths! A third defect is the occasional manifestation of a jealous fear, on the part of the government, lest in the execution of its enactments the judge should ever find himself impeded or hampered by too great clearness of definition, or the subject derive too much protection from the distinct statement of crime and punishment. Hence those vague generalities by which the benefits of a written code are in a great measure annulled. The following enactment is a specimen:—"Whoever is guilty of *improper conduct*, and such as is contrary to the *spirit* of the laws, though not a breach of any specific article, shall be punished at the least with forty blows; and, when the *impropriety* is of a *serious nature*, with eighty blows." The Chinese may justly say that it is "difficult to escape from the net of the law," when its meshes are thus closed against the exit of the minutest of the fry.

One feature of the criminal code, inseparable from the nature of the government from which it sprung, is the remorseless and unrelenting cruelty and injustice which mark all its provisions against the crime of treason. Nothing perhaps could more strongly show the different tempers of despotism and freedom than the contrast between the Chinese law of high treason and our own. In China, every species of advantage and protection afforded to the criminal, in ordinary cases of a capital nature, is taken away from the traitor; in England, every possible safeguard is afforded him. It is well known that, with us, the prisoner must be furnished, at least ten days before his trial, with a copy of his indictment, a list of witnesses, and a list of the panel, or those from whom the jury are to be chosen. Then, again, he may challenge or object to as many as thirty-five of the panel in making up the jury; he cannot be convicted with less than *two legal witnesses*; and he may employ counsel in *his defence*. Now, in China, not a single circumstance of indulgence or safety to the criminal, is



capital cases, is ever stated throughout the whole code, without this addition, "*except in cases of high treason.*" The slenderness of the protection is only to be paralleled by the barbarity of the punishment; and, as in other absolute despotisms, the innocent family of the offender is consigned to destruction.\* In 1803 an attempt was made on the life of the emperor by a single assassin. He was condemned to a lingering death, and his sons, "being of a tender age," to be strangled! Going back to the patriarchal origin of the government, the Chinese derive a sanction for their law of treason from their sacred books. These enjoin it on a son to pursue the author of his father's death to extremity; and Confucius himself tells him "not to live under the same heaven with the slayer of his father." The extension of this rule to the sovereign is, in the mind of every Chinese, a matter of course.

The arrangement of the penal code is extremely methodical and lucid. The first head is composed principally of general definitions and explanations in reference to the whole code; and the six following, which constitute the body of the work, correspond exactly to the six supreme boards or tribunals at Peking, being in fact the best illustrations of the respective duties and functions of those councils. In that light they may be briefly presented to the reader.

I. The division concerning the *Administration of civil offices* corresponds to the first of the Supreme Tribunals before noticed, whose title may be expressed by "the Board of Civil Appointments." Its two books treat, 1. Of the System of Government. 2. Of the Conduct of Officers.

II. The next comprehends *Fiscal and Statistical*

\* Amongst the Persians and Macedonians, not only the criminals convicted of treason, but all their relations and friends, were put to death. The posterity of Marius's faction were disqualified, by a law of Sylla, from advancing themselves by their own merit to estates and offices.—*Yorke's Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture.*

*Laws*, and answers to the Board of Revenue at Peking. Its seven books comprise, 1. The Enroiment of the People. 2. Lands and Tenements. 3. Marriage (in its statistical relations). 4. Public Property. 5. Duties and Customs. 6. Private Property. 7. Sales and Markets.

III. The third treats of the *Ritual Laws*, and comes of course under the Tribunals of Rites and Ceremonies. The two books of this division treat, 1. Of Sacred Rites. 2. Miscellaneous Observances.

IV. The division concerning *Military Laws* belongs to the Tribunal of War, or Military Board, and contains five books. 1. The Protection of the Palace. 2. The Regulation of the Army. 3. The Protection of the Frontier. 4. Military Horses and Cattle. 5. Expresses and Public Posts.

V. The next comprehends *Criminal Laws*, and pertains to the "Tribunal of Punishments," being by far the most considerable portion, and comprising eleven books. The principal heads are, "Treason, Robbery and Theft, Murder and Homicide of various kinds, Criminal Intercourse, Disturbing Graves, Quarrelling and Fighting, and Incendiarism."

VI. The last division of the code, treating of *Public Works*, and coming under the appropriate Board at Peking, contains only two books. 1. Public Buildings. 2. Public Ways.

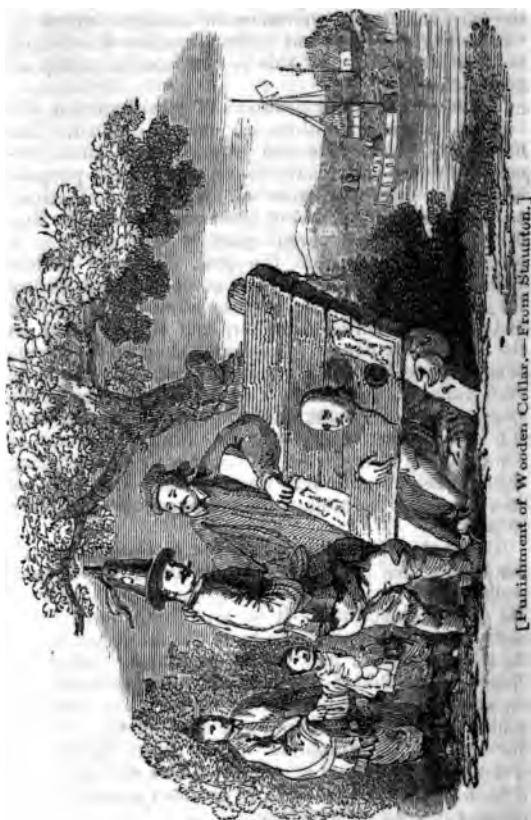
With regard to the punishments by which these laws are enforced, it is important to observe that very unfounded notions have been prevalent as to the caprice or cruelty which can be exercised towards criminals. Some vulgar daubs, commonly sold at Canton, and representing the punishment of the damned in the Buddhist hell, have been absurdly styled "Chinese punishments," and confounded with the true ones. There is in the first division of the code a very strict definition of all the legal pains and penalties to which the subject is liable, and even the application of torture in forcing evidence is strictly limited in its extent and application. History indeed relates

the extraordinary contrivances of cruelty adopted by different tyrants previous to the formation of a distinct and written code; but this is common to nearly all countries.

The most general instrument of punishment is the bamboo, whose dimensions are exactly defined. The number of blows, attached *gradatim* with such precision to every individual offence, answers the purpose of a scale or measurement of the degrees of crime, and this punishment being often commutable for fine or otherwise, the apparent quantity of flagellation is of course greater than the real. A small hollow cylinder, full of tallies or slips of wood, stands before the judge, and according to the nature of the offence he takes out a certain number, and throws them on the floor of the court. These are taken up by the attendants, and five blows nominally, but in reality only four, inflicted for each.\* This mitigation goes to the emperor's credit, being called "imperial favour," and it is in strict conformity with the Chinese maxim, that "in enacting laws, rigour is necessary; in executing them, mercy;" although the converse has been of late generally maintained among ourselves—in *theory* at least.

The next punishment is the *Kea*, or Cangue, which has been called the wooden collar, being a species of walking pillory, in which the prisoner is paraded with his offence inscribed. It is sometimes worn for a month together, and as the hand cannot be put to the mouth, the wearer must be fed by others. After this comes, in the first place, temporary banishment, to a distance not exceeding fifty leagues from the prisoner's home; and then exile beyond the Chinese frontier, either temporary or for life. Tartars are punished by an equal number of blows with the whip instead of the bamboo, and, in ordinary cases, with the Cangue instead of banishment.

\* The ceremony of the bamboo is described in the 'Fortunes of Union,' vol. ii. p. 62.



[Punishment of Wooden Collar.—From Staunton.]

The three capital punishments are, First, *strangulation*; Secondly, for greater crimes, *decollation*; Thirdly, for the greatest crimes, as *treason*, *parricide*,

ke., that mode of execution called *Ling-chy*,  
 efal and lingering death," which Europeans  
 ewhat incorrectly styled *cutting into ten*  
*ieces*. The heads of robbers and murderers  
 ly exposed in a cage suspended on a pole.

prisons are very severe, and, as there is no  
 ryus Act, the most frequent instruments of  
 justice are prolonged imprisonments. No-  
 more effectually to deter from crime than  
 ect of incarceration in those miserable  
 rich the Chinese emphatically style Ty-yò,  
 l the severity of which is increased by the  
 nt being solitary. Women in ordinary cases  
 fortunate exemption of being placed, as  
 in the custody of their nearest relations,  
 nswerable for them, and in this manner they  
 : further contamination of vice in a prison.  
 mode of torture, in forcing evidence, is to  
 e ankles or the fingers between three sticks,  
 ularly; the former being applied to male,  
 tter to female prisoners. Oaths are never  
 nor even admitted, in judicial proceedings;  
 erever punishments are attached to falsehood  
 e.

*privileged classes* are enumerated in the intro-  
 vision of the code, who cannot be tried and  
 without a special reference to the emperor.  
 ids of exemption (which, as usual, are de-  
 sason) consist, generally, in relationship to  
 ial line, or in high character and station.  
 ut cases where the crime is less than capital,  
 1 under fifteen years of age, or above seventy,  
 to redeem himself from punishment by a  
 species of *king's evidence* is permitted in cases  
 g and robbery, with a view to the recovery  
 : goods: in fact, something more than mere  
 offered, as the accomplice who informs is  
 o the reward attached to the discovery of  
 als. This, however, extends only to the *first*

The law distinguishes, in most cases, between principals and accessaries *before* the fact, punishing the latter one degree less severely than the former; and in this respect it differs from our own system, by which accessaries *before* the fact are punished as principals; *after* the fact merely as concealers of what they ought to have revealed. In treason, however, as usual, the Chinese law punishes both principals and accessaries, and their innocent relations, with a sweeping severity. Where the safety of the emperor, or the stability of the government, is not involved, milder and more benevolent traits are frequently discernible in this code. With a view, for instance, to promote kindred and domestic ties, it is provided that relatives and servants, living under the same roof, shall in ordinary cases be held innocent; though they conceal the offences of their fellow-inmates, or even assist in effecting their escape. This was probably enacted in conformity with that precept of Confucius:—"The father may conceal the offences of his son, and the son those of his father—uprightness consists with this."—(*Hae-Lun*, ch. 13.)

The desire entertained and professed by the Chinese government, that its subjects should be generally acquainted with the laws of the empire, has given rise to something not unlike our benefit of clergy. It is enacted that all those private individuals who are found capable of explaining the nature, or comprehending the objects of the laws, shall receive pardon for all offences resulting from accident (and not malice), or imputable to them only in consequence of the guilt of others, provided it be the *first offence*, and not implicated with any act of treason or rebellion. A considerable portion of the sixth division of the code is devoted to providing for justice in the administration of legal punishments, and establishing safeguards for the subject. Severe penalties are denounced against officers of government for unjust imprisonment, delay of justice, cruelty, &c. A species of bail is allowed to minor offenders in case of sickness, and

they are exempted, or released from imprisonment, on sufficient security being given for their return. Torture is forbidden to be exercised on persons above seventy, or under fifteen, as well as on those labouring under permanent disease. Women can never be imprisoned except for capital offences, or for adultery. Torture and death cannot be inflicted on a pregnant woman until one hundred days after her confinement, in consideration, we presume, of the infant.

The condition of slavery in China is broadly marked by the absence of rights and immunities pertaining to those who are subjects without being slaves. The law regards slaves with less care, and affords less protection to them than to their masters. Every offence is aggravated or diminished in its penalty, according as it is committed by a slave towards a freeman, or *vice versa*. For a slave to kill his master, is punished with lingering death, as petit treason; while the converse of the case is not even capital. We find the same distinctions existing in the early history of Europe, in respect to the comparative personal rights of freemen and slaves. But, besides domestic slavery, it seems that for some infractions of the laws a whole family is sometimes condemned to public servitude, as appears from Section CXL. of the penal code. Personal service, too, is frequently levied by the government as a species of taxation on the lowest class, or that which has nothing but its labour to contribute. The comparative uncertainty of this, notwithstanding sundry enactments against its abuse, is a great evil; and both our embassies had reason to regret that they were the innocent occasions of much oppression and ill-usage to the poor people who were pressed by the mandarins to track their boats.

Robbery, with the concerted use of offensive weapons, is punished with death, however small may be the amount taken; and, if a burglar be killed by him whose house he invades, it is deemed an act of justifiable homicide. An intimation conveyed to the local

magistrate of Macao that the English were aware of this part of the law, and prepared to take advantage of it, had the good effect of preventing night robberies, which until then had been frequent. Simple stealing is punished only with the bamboo and with exile, on a scale proportioned to the amount; and there is reason to believe that death is *never* inflicted, whatever may be the value of the thing stolen. Theft among near relations is punished with less severity than ordinary stealing; and Sir George Staunton explains this, by its being the violation of a right not perfectly exclusive, since the thief, according to the Chinese system of clubbing in families, being part owner of the thing stolen, infringes only that *qualified* interest which each individual has in his share of the family property. Consistently enough with this principle, we may add that the thief seems to be more severely punished in proportion as the relationship becomes more distant, as having a smaller share of the property, and therefore violating a more exclusive right. But then it must be remarked that the rule does not apply to servants stealing from their masters, a crime which in China is also punished less severely than ordinary theft. The case is quite different among us in England, and with apparent reason, on the principle of its being a violation of necessary confidence, in addition to the violation of property.

The Chinese law of *homicide* derives additional interest from the circumstance of British subjects having on several occasions become obnoxious to it at Canton, and from its forming a very important subject of consideration in the establishment of our novel relations with the local government at that place. With its characteristic love of order and horror of tumults, the national code treats affrays with unusual severity. Killing in an affray, and killing with a regular weapon, without reference to any intent either expressed or implied, are punished with strangling. Killing by *pure accident*, that is not in an affray, nor with a wea-



pon, and where there was no previous knowledge of probable consequences, is redeemable by a fine of about 4*l.* to the relations of the deceased.

With regard to affrays, it must, however, be observed, that a limit is allowed to the period of responsibility, in all cases where the homicide was evidently not preconcerted. When a person is wounded with only the hands, or a stick, twenty days constitute the term of responsibility, after which the death of the sufferer does not make the offence capital. With a sharp instrument, fire, or scalding water, the term is extended to thirty days. In case of gun-shot wounds, to forty days; of broken bones or very violent wounds, fifty days. As the translator of the *Leu-lee* observes, the judicious application of the knowledge of this particular law once contributed to extricate the Company's servants in China from very serious difficulties in the case of a native killed by a sailor. The situation of the English at Canton in respect to homicides will be particularly noticed in another place.

Fathers have virtually the power of life and death over their children, for even if they kill them designedly, they are subject to only the chastisement of the bamboo, and a year's banishment; if struck by them, to no punishment at all. The penalty of striking parents, or for cursing them, is death, as among the Hebrews (*Exod. xxi.*). In practice it does not appear that this absolute power bestowed on fathers is productive of evil, the natural feeling being, upon the whole, a sufficient security against its abuse.

The law of China is so tenacious of order, and so anxious to prevent the chance of homicide from quarrels, that some punishment is attached to the mere act of striking another with the hand or foot;—not as a private, but as a public offence. Though of course this cannot, in the generality of cases, be acted upon, it may account partly for the common spectacle of two Chinese jumping about and vociferating their mutual reproaches for an incredible time, without

coming to blows. This noisy gesticulation seems to answer the purpose of a moral safety-valve, and is certainly more harmless than actual hostilities, though perhaps more disagreeable to the neighbours, inasmuch as it lasts longer. The responsible elder of the village or district (divided always into tithings and hundreds) often interposes on these occasions, and restores quiet. The law also provides some punishment for opprobrious language, on the ground of its having "a tendency to produce quarrels and affrays;" or, as assumed by the English law in the criminal prosecution for libel, tending to a breach of the *King's peace*.

That portion of the Chinese code which relates to fiscal or statistical matters, to the tenure of lands, and to inheritance, will be noticed elsewhere; but we may mention the subject of *debts* in this place. A period is allowed by law, on the expiration of which the debtor becomes liable to the bamboo if his obligations are not discharged. A creditor sometimes quarters himself and his family on his debtor, and, provided that this is done without violence and tumult, the civil authority does not interfere. One of the insolvent Hong merchants had in this manner to entertain some of his Chinese creditors, until the representations to the government of those Europeans who had claims against him occasioned his banishment into Tartary; it being a much greater offence to owe money to a foreigner than to a native. The true reason of this is, the anxiety of that cautious government to prevent the recurrence of the trouble which it has in former times experienced, from the embarrassing claims and demands of strangers, and no real sense of justice towards them.

The able critique on the code, which we have already quoted, proceeds to say, "When we turn from the ravings of the Zendavesta, or the Puranas, to the *tone of sense and of business* of this Chinese collection, we seem to be passing from darkness to light—from the drivellings of dotage to the exercise of a

ved understanding; and redundant and minute  
se laws are in many particulars, we scarcely  
any European code that is at once so copious and  
sistent, or that is nearly so free from intricacy,  
y, and fiction. In everything relating to political  
m, or individual independence, it is, indeed,  
y defective; but for the repression of disorder,  
e gentle coercion of a vast population, it ap-  
to us to be, in general, equally mild and effica-

The defects are, of course, inherent in all  
isms, under which the legislator is not embar-  
by those considerations which in free states  
: every new law a problem, involving the  
st quantity of good to the public at the least  
se of liberty to the individual; and which in  
ries where there is more liberty than moral in-  
ion, or where men are better acquainted with  
rights than with their duties, must always re-  
e business of government a difficult task.

has been reasonably proposed by Sir George  
ton to estimate the Chinese legislation by its  
s, "to judge of the tree by its fruits, some of  
(he observes) we shall find to be wholly incon-  
: with the hypothesis of a very bad government,  
ery vicious state of society." On this subject he  
s his colleague\* in the commission of the last  
embassy, "whose extensive acquaintance with  
and India rendered him a peculiarly competent  
of comparative merit in this case. He pro-  
es China superior to the other countries of Asia,  
n the arts of government, and the general aspect  
iety: and adds, that the laws are more generally  
s, and more equally administered; that those  
ples of oppression, accompanied with infliction of  
rous punishment, which offend the eye and dis-  
he feelings of the most hurried traveller in other

r. Ellis, ambassador to Persia, with whom the writer of  
velled through China, and always heard him express  
e sentiments.

Asiatic countries, are scarcely to be met with in China; that the proportion which the middling orders bear to the other classes of the community appeared considerable; that compared with Turkey, Persia, and parts of India, an impression was produced highly favourable to the comparative situation of the lower orders."

"These statements," adds Sir George, "proceeding from a writer whose general opinions are certainly not very favourable to the government or people of China, have the greater weight. I should be disposed to add my own testimony to the same facts, and in the same spirit. In the course of our journey through the Chinese empire, on the occasion of that embassy, I can recall to my recollection (the sea-port of Canton, of course, excepted) but very few instances of beggary or abject misery among the lower classes, or of splendid extravagance among the higher; and I conceived myself enabled to trace almost universally throughout China the unequivocal signs of an industrious, thriving, and contented people."

Chinese law, with all its faults, is comparative perfection when contrasted with that of Japan, as described by Kœmpfer. "I have often wondered," says he, "at the brief and laconic style of those tablets which are hung up on the roads to notify the emperor's pleasure. There is no reason given how it came about that such a law was made; no mention of the lawgiver's view and intention; nor any graduated penalty put upon the violation thereof. The bare transgression of the law is capital, without any regard to the degree or heinousness of the crime, or the favourable circumstances the offender's case may be attended with." Some such comparison, perhaps, suggested the complacent reflections of *Tienkeeshé*, a Chinese, who thus wrote:—"I felicitate myself that I was born in China! It constantly occurs to me, what if I had been born beyond the sea, in some remote part of the earth, where the cold freezes, or the heat scorches: where the people are clothed with the leaves of plants, eat wood, dwell in the wilderness, lie

in holes of the earth; are far removed from the converting maxims of the ancient kings, and are ignorant of the domestic relations: though born as one of the generation of men, I should not have been different from a beast. But how happily I have been born in China! I have a house to live in, have drink and food, and commodious furniture. I have clothing and caps, and infinite blessings. Truly the highest felicity is mine.”\*

The country cannot, upon the whole, be very ill-governed whose subjects write in this style. But it is a still more remarkable fact, that the following should be a popular maxim of the Chinese, and one frequently quoted by them:—“To violate THE LAW, is the same crime in the emperor as in a subject.” This plainly intimates, that there are certain sanctions which the people in general look upon as superior to the will of the sovereign himself. These are contained in their sacred books, whose principle is literally, *salus populi suprema lex*; as we shall see when we come to consider them hereafter. However much this principle may at times be violated under the pressure of a foreign Tartar dominion, it nevertheless continues to be recognised, and must doubtless exercise more or less influence on the conduct of the government.

\* Chinese Gleaner, vol. i. p. 109.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CHARACTER AND INSTITUTIONS.

Most of the good and bad traits of the Chinese character may, as usual, be traced to the advantages or faults of their social system. If those principles of government and those laws, of which we have given a slight sketch, have the effect of imbuing them with some of the vices connected with timidity of character, which are particularly disesteemed in Europe, it is only fair to give them credit, on the other hand, for the valuable qualities which they do really possess. The Chinese have, upon the whole, been under-estimated on the score of their moral attributes. The reason of this has probably been, the extremely unfavourable aspect in which they have appeared to the generality of observers at Canton: just as if any one should attempt to form an estimate of *our* national character in England, from that peculiar phase under which it may present itself at some commercial seaport.

It is in fact a matter of astonishment that the people at Canton should be no worse than we find them. They are well acquainted with that maxim of their government, by which it openly professes to "rule barbarians by misrule, like *beasts* and not like native subjects;" and they are perpetually supplied by the local authorities with every motive to behave towards strangers as if they were really a degraded order of beings. The natural consequence is, that their conduct to Europeans is very different from their conduct among themselves. Except when under the influence of either interest or of fear, they are often haughty and insolent to strangers, as well as fraudulent; and

such is the effect of opinion among them, that, even in cases where interest may persuade them to servility, this will not be exhibited in the presence of a countryman. A beggar has often been seen who, though he would bend his knee very readily to European passengers when unobserved, refrained altogether from it while Chinese were passing by. It was some time before the very coolies, the lowest class of servants, would condescend to carry a lantern before a European at night; and still longer before they could be induced, by any wages, to convey him in a sedan even at Macao, where it is permitted. Is it surprising, then, that they should reconcile it, without much difficulty, to their feelings to overreach and ill-use, occasionally, these creatures of an inferior rank, who, as their government phrases it, come to benefit by "the transforming influence of Chinese civilization;" or, rather, is it *not* very surprising that so general a course of honesty and good faith, and so many instances of kindness and generosity, even, should have been experienced in their intercourse with us? If we deny to the Chinese their fair advantages, on a view somewhat more extended than the precincts of Canton afford, and if we condemn them ignorantly, it is the precise fault which we have most to censure on their part. We in fact become as illiberal as themselves.

The following anecdote, from a miscellaneous volume,\* by Sir George Staunton, is a favourable specimen of Chinese character, as it has appeared even at Canton. A considerable merchant had some dealings with an American trader, who attempted to quit the port without discharging his debt, and would have succeeded but for the spirit and activity of a young officer of one of the Company's ships. He boarded the American vessel when upon the point of sailing, and, by his remonstrances or otherwise, prevailed on the American to make a satisfactory arrange-

\* *Notices of China*, part ii.

ment with his creditor. In acknowledgment for this service, the Chinese merchant purchased from the young officer, in his several successive voyages to China, on very favourable terms, the whole of his commercial adventure. He might thus have been considered to have fulfilled any ordinary claim upon his gratitude; but he went further than this. After some years he expressed his surprise to the officer that he had not yet obtained the command of a ship. The other replied, that it was a lucrative post which could be obtained only by purchase, and at an expense of some thousand pounds, a sum wholly out of his power to raise. The Chinese merchant said he would remove that difficulty, and immediately gave him a draft for the amount, to be repaid at his convenience. The officer died on his voyage home, and the draft was never presented; but it was drawn on a house of great respectability, and would have been duly honoured.

The late Dr. Morrison formed a very fair estimate of a people with whom he was better acquainted than most Europeans. "In China," he observes, "there is much to blame, but something to learn. Education is there made as general as possible, and moral instruction is ranked above physical." The consequence is, that industry, tranquillity, and content are unusually prevalent in the bulk of the population. The exceptions to this, in the tumults which arise from local distress in limited districts, are in some measure the consequence of the very means taken to prevent them. The Chinese are bad political economists: the government, instead of allowing the trade in grain to take its natural course, erects its own granaries, in which there is much inevitable abuse, and prohibits the business of the great corn-factor, who, in consulting his own interests, would much better relieve the dearth of one season by the redundancy of another. The people, who are taught to look to the public granaries for relief, and have been led by their patriarchal theory of government to rely



good which they enjoyed to the emperor and delegates, very naturally attribute the evil which suffer to the same quarters; and the government, aware of the danger, is proportionately anxious to defend against it. If it fails, in the pursuit of an erroneous system, there is no room for surprise. Notwithstanding that his power is absolute, the emperor himself on all occasions endeavours to prove that his conduct is based on reason, and originates in justice—the truth of the argument being of course a distinct affair. From the habits in which he is brought up, as well as from the operation of the same positive laws already noticed, the people are more ready to reason with each other than to resort to the *ultima ratio* of force. The advantageous features of their character, as mildness, docility, industry, obedience, subordination, and respect for the law, are accompanied by the vices of specious civility, falsehood, with mutual distrust and jealousy. Greed and deceit, being generally the refuge of the weak and timid, have been held in Europe to be the most disgraceful vices, ever since the influence of the feudal institutions, under which strength and age were the things most valued. The Chinese at any time do not attach the same degree of disgrace to deceit; and least of all do they discountenance it towards Europeans at Canton. A true calculation of their own interest makes most of the merchants of that place sufficiently scrupulous in their commercial engagements, but on all other points “the foreign game,” as they call him, is fair game. Many a Chinese at Canton, in his intercourse with a stranger, would be occasionally to have an abstract love of falsehood and trickery, independently of anything that he could gain by it; and he will appear sometimes to voluntarily lie, when it would be just the same to him to tell the truth. Mr. Barrow has attributed their national insincerity to a motive which no doubt operates with the higher classes, as much as an ignorant contempt for the *mischievous malignity* do with the rabble.

"As a direct refusal," he observes, "to any request would betray a want of good breeding, every proposal finds their immediate acquiescence: they promise without hesitation, but generally disappoint by the invention of some slight pretence or plausible objection: they have no proper sense of the obligations of truth." This renders all negotiations with them on public matters almost entirely fruitless, as no reliance whatever can be placed on them for the fulfilment of engagements. They dispense with faith towards foreigners in a manner truly Machiavellian.

The traveller above quoted remarked also the cheerful character and willing industry of the Chinese. This is in fact a most invaluable trait, and, like most other virtues, it brings its own reward: the display is not, however, limited to their own country. The superior character of the Chinese as *colonists*, in regard to intelligence, industry, and general sobriety, must be derived from their education, and from the influence of something good in their national system. Their government very justly regards education as omnipotent, and some share of it nearly every Chinese obtains. Their domestic discipline is all on the side of social order and universal industry.

The important advantages which they certainly possess, more especially in comparison with the adjoining countries, have given the Chinese the inordinate national pride so offensive to Europeans. These illusions of self-love, fostered by ignorance, have inspired them with notions of their country, in regard to the rest of the earth, quite analogous to those entertained by the old astronomers, of the earth relatively to the universe. They think it the centre of a system, and call it *choong-kuo*, the central nation; nor is it a small increase of foreign intercourse and knowledge that will be required to set them right. The natural disposition of the people to despise strangers has been artfully promoted by the mandarins. A timid and miserable policy has led them to consider it their interest to increase the mutual dis-

and disunion. Hence the slanderous proclamation exhibited by them against foreigners at Canton, the penalties attached to a "traitorous interest" with Europeans. The most dangerous action against a native is that of being subject to an influence in *any* way.

There is a positive law against the use of things mentioned by custom; partly therefore from fear, from conceit, they are very little inclined to foreign modes, or purchase foreign manufactures.

Raw produce, or the *materials* of manufactures find a better market among them; but the marketable commodity of all are *dollars*. India is superior as Europe is in science, and in the productions of science, yet to a Chinese, who sees things brought from thence that really suit his art and conventional wants, or that are in conformity with the usages enjoined by the ritual,—and until lately, heard little of the different states which Europe is divided, but the indistinct rumour of endless wars and massacres on a large scale,—not surprising if no very elevated picture presents itself, in comparison with his own immense healthy country, its hundreds of millions of industrious and intelligent people, and an uninterrupted order of nearly 200 years, even if we go no farther than the Tartar invasion. Whatever there is of extreme poverty and destitution in the country, arises from the unusual degree in which the population is made to press against the means of subsistence, by causes which we shall notice hereafter; not from any fault in the *distribution* of wealth, which is perhaps far more equal here than in any country. There is much less inequality in the ranks, than in the ranks and conditions of men. The comparatively low estimation in which *mere* wealth is held, is a considerable moral advantage on the side of the Chinese; for—

"*Magnum pauperies opprobrium, jubet  
Quidvis et facere et pati.*"

Poverty is no reproach among them. The two things which they most respect are, station derived from personal merit, and the claims of venerable old age. The last was signally honoured by Kang-hy, the second emperor of the reigning family. An inferior officer of more than a hundred years of age having come to an audience to do homage, the emperor rose from his seat and met him, desiring the old man to stand up without ceremony, and telling him he paid this respect to his great age. According to that connexion which exists between the languages and the usages of nations, the ordinary address of civility and respect in China is *Laou-yay*, "Old, or venerable father," which, as a mere form of speech, is often addressed to a person half the age of the speaker.

The peaceful and prudential character of the people may be traced to the influence and authority of age. In consequence of the individuals of succeeding generations living entirely under the power and control of the oldest surviving heads of families, the ignorant and inexperienced are guided by the more mature judgment of the elders, and the sallies of rashness and folly easily restrained. The effects of example and of early habit are equally visible in their conversation. The Chinese frequently get the better of Europeans in a discussion by imperturbable coolness and gravity. It is part of their policy to gain the advantage by letting their opponent work himself into a passion, and place himself in the wrong: hence the more than ordinary necessity of carefully preserving the temper with them. Gravity of demeanour is much affected, particularly by magistrates and persons of rank: it is styled *choong*, literally heavy, or *grave* (which in its origin means the same), in contradistinction to *king*, light, or *levity*. As this is, in some degree, promoted by a heavy, lumbering figure, it may be the origin of their partiality for bulkiness in men; while in women they admire such an opposite quality. Any under-sized individual, who does not fill his chair well, they jocularly style "short measure."

It is the discipline to which they are subject from earliest childhood, and the habit of controlling their ruder passions, that render crimes of violence so unfrequent among them. Robbery is very seldom accompanied by murder. Under real or supposed injury, however, they are sometimes found to be very revengeful, and on such occasions not at all scrupulous as to how they accomplish their purpose. Women will sometimes hang or drown themselves, merely to bring those with whom they have quarrelled into trouble. The people, quiet and submissive as they are, will, when once roused by intolerable oppression, rise *en masse* against a magistrate, and destroy him if they can. In such a case, should the obnoxious governor escape the vengeance of the populace, he seldom meets with any mercy at Peking, where revolts prove serious occurrences to those under whom they take place.

To the system of clubbing together in families—we might almost say in clans—is to be attributed that sacred regard to kindred which operates better than a public provision for the relief of the poor, and serves as one of the best means for the *distribution* of wealth; a valuable science, in which they perhaps beat our economists, though they do not equal them in the rules for its *creation*. Hence, too, that regard for the place of his birth, which always clings to a Chinese through life, often making him apply for leave to quit the honours and emoluments of office, and retire to his native village. The same feeling makes the colonists, who venture abroad in search of gain, return home as soon as they have acquired something like a competency, though at the risk of being oppressed under the forms of law for having left China. They have a popular saying, "If he who attains to honours or wealth never returns to his native place, he is like a finely-dressed person walking in the dark;" it is all thrown away.

We have now touched briefly upon the leading features of the Chinese character, which will be

viewed and appreciated according to the peculiar tastes and opinions of readers, but which by most persons must be allowed to contain an admixture, at least, of what is good and valuable. It remains to notice one important circumstance which has very naturally rendered this people obnoxious to severe censure—the infanticide\* of female children. The presumed extent of this practice has been brought as an argument against the prevalence of parental feeling in China; but we believe that the amount of it has, by most writers, been overrated. No doubt but, in occasional instances of female births, infanticide does exist; but these cases certainly occur only in the chief cities, and the most crowded population, where the difficulty of subsistence takes away all hope from the poorest persons of being able to rear their offspring. The Chinese are in general peculiarly fond of their children, and the attachment seems to be mutual. The instances at Canton (a very crowded and populous place) of the bodies of infants being seen floating are not frequent, and may reasonably, in some cases, be attributed to accident, where such multitudes are brought up from their birth in small boats. There never was a more absurd blunder than to charge to infanticide those instances in which the infants are found floating with a hollow gourd about their persons, as if the gourd were a part of the system of exposure! Why, the very object of attaching these gourds to the children living in boats is to save them from the risk of being drowned, and to float them until they can be pulled out of the water. That children should sometimes be found drowned, in spite of this precaution, is possible enough; but to consider the gourds as part and parcel of their fate, is about as reasonable and correct as if somebody should attribute all the deaths in England from drowning to the exertions of the Humane Society.†

\* This subject is not mentioned in the penal code.

† Mons. de Guignes is quite right on this point. "Quant

The Roman Catholic fathers, with all their complete and intimate knowledge of China, had a trick of giving their own colouring to such matters as bore in any way upon the honour and glory of the mission. We have seen that they dealt now and then in *miracles*: the mere over-statement, therefore, of the practice of infanticide was natural enough, when connected with the object; and Du Halde gives a pompous account of the fruits of the missionary exertions. The merit, however, was peculiar, and of an equivocal kind; for, instead of attempting on most occasions to save the lives of the children doomed to be drowned, they or their proselytes walked about to the houses, baptizing the new-born infants previous to death—a cheap, rapid, and easy work of charity.

——“Licebit,  
Injecto ter pulvere, curras.”

In their physical characteristics the Chinese are generally as superior to the nations which border on them, as in other points. It has often been remarked that a finer-shaped and more powerful race of men exist nowhere than the coolies, or porters, of Canton, and the weights which they carry with ease on a bamboo, between two of them, would break down most other Asiatics. The freedom of their dress gives a development to their limbs, that renders many of the Chinese models for a statuary. As sailors, they have been found always much stronger and more efficient than Lascars on board of English ships, though the obstacles which exist to their entering into foreign service prevent their being frequently engaged. During the war, the difficulty of manning the Company's ships with English seamen was the

à ce que l'on dit qu'elles attachent une calabasse sur le dos des enfans pour les faire flotter plus long-tems, afin de donner le tems à quelque personne charitable de leur sauver la vie, elles ne le font que pour avoir elles-mêmes le moyen de le mourir dans le cas où ils tomberoient à la rivière.”

occasion of great numbers being employed, though at a very heavy expense.

The superior physical character of the Chinese, in comparison with many other Asiatics, must in great measure be attributed to the lower average temperature, and the general healthiness of their climate, notwithstanding the existence of very considerable, as well as rapid, vicissitudes of heat and cold. The extent to which cultivation and drainage have been carried in all the lower levels throughout the country, must, no doubt, have its share in the effect; and the general prevalence of active as well as sober habits in the bulk of the population, is another important circumstance. It may be observed here, that if that terrible scourge the *cholera* could be proved to have existed at all in China,\* during the period in which it has occasioned such frightful ravages in other parts of the world, its extent and effects have been so inconsiderable as not to deserve serious notice. The idea which has prevailed in France, relative to the use of tea being a means of avoiding the disease, might seem to derive some corroboration from this general immunity in the country where tea is more extensively consumed than elsewhere.

When the cranium, or skull, of a Chinese is compared with those of a European and a negro, it is observable that what is called the *facial angle*, in the case of the first, is something of a medium† between the other two; in other words the forehead and upper part of the face in the Chinese retire, or incline backward, rather more than in the European, but much less than in the African. The same remark holds slightly in respect to the oblique insertion of the incisors or front teeth. In the thickness of the lips the Chinese approaches, but by no means equals, the negro; nor is that feature at all so prominent as in

\* The European shipping at Whampoa not included.

† This expression must be understood with reserve, as the departure from the European standard is but trifling.



he latter, whose physiognomy might, in some individual cases, where the chin almost disappears, be designated by the term "muzzle." The nose is flattened and the nostrils expanded, in the Chinese, but not to the same extent as in the Æthiopian. In some points of physiology, the people whom we describe bear a considerable resemblance to the North American Indians. There is the same lank, black, and shining hair; the same obliquity of the eyes and eyebrows turned upwards at the outer extremities; and a corresponding thinness and tufty growth of beard. The Chinese, too, is distinguished by a nearly total absence of hair from the surface of the body. In the smallness of the hands and feet, and of the bones of the body compared with Europeans, he resembles the generality of Asiatics. We may remark here that the Esquimaux, as represented in the plates of Captain Lyon's voyage, bear a very striking similarity to the *Tân-kea*, or "boat-people," of the coast of China, who are treated by the government as a different race from those on shore, and not allowed to intermarry with them. Whether the miserable inhabitants of the cold regions to the north have thus migrated southward, along the coast, at some former periods, in search of a more genial climate, must be a mere matter of conjecture in the absence of positive proof.

Though the Chinese are allied to the Mongols in the general cast of their features, the harsher points of the Tartar are softened down in the former considerably. It would be a hopeless task to attempt to explain, on any certain grounds, the mode in which China first became peopled. The only thing like testimony that we possess out of China, relating to this subject, is in the Institutes of Menu, as quoted by Sir William Jones. It is there written, that "many families of the military class, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Veda, and the company of Brahmins, lived in a state of degradation as the *Chinas* and some other nations." A native historian

certainly states that, at a period corresponding to years before Christ, "the Chinese nation was small and feeble, the Eastern foreigners (people between the west and the east coast) numerous and strong," and the former "gradually obtained a settlement in the middle of the country." This, as far as it goes, may be construed into a proof that China, according to the opinion of Sir William Jones, was originally peopled in part from India.

But, however that may be, the position hazard De Guignes, that the Chinese were a colony of Egypt, seems hardly capable of sufficient support by testimony, either direct or circumstantial. Such distant emigration could not have taken place without the knowledge and notice of the nations inhabiting the vast countries that intervene: besides which, there exists not the slightest shadow of resemblance between the hieroglyphics of Egypt and the Chinese characters. This point was first satisfactorily proved in a letter from Père Amiot at Peking to the Royal Society of London, which had applied to him for information. In one respect, indeed, we are ready to admit that there is a resemblance; but that is only in the use of the respective characters. The researches of Dr. Young first proved that the pictorial emblem of the sacred language of Egypt had been used in the Rosetta inscription, as symbols of *sound* in the expression of foreign names. Now this is precisely what the Chinese do, from obvious necessity, in similar cases. Their monosyllabic characters are used to represent the sounds of foreigners' names, and either indicated by a line along the side, or otherwise distinguished by a small mark, for the same reason that the Egyptians enclosed theirs in an oval ring, or *touche*.

But to return to our immediate subject. People of Europe have been strangely misled, in their notions of Chinese physiognomy and appearance, by the figures represented on those specimens of manufacture which proceed from Canton, and which are commonly

style of broad caricature. A Chinese at Peking might as well form an idea of us from some of the performances of Cruikshank. The consequence has been, that a character of silly levity and farce has been associated, in the minds of many persons, with the most steady, considerate, and matter-of-fact people in the world, who in grave matters of business are often a match for the best of Europeans. Their features have perhaps less of the harsh angularity of the Tartar countenance in the south than at Peking. Among those who are not exposed to the climate, the complexion is fully as fair as that of Spaniards and Portuguese; but the sun has a powerful effect on their skins, and that upper portion of a man's person habitually exposed in the summer is often so different from the remainder, that, when stripped, he looks like the lower half of a European joined on to the upper moiety of an Asiatic. Up to the age of twenty they are often very good-looking, but soon after that period the prominent cheek-bones generally give a harshness to the features, as the roundness of youth wears off. With the progress of age the old men become in most cases extremely ugly, and the old women can only be described by Juvenal:—

——“*Tales adspice rugas  
Quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus,  
In vetulâ scalpit jam mater simia buccâ.*”

——“Such wrinkles see,  
As in an Indian forest's solitude,  
Some old ape scrubs amidst her numerous brood.”

A conjecture has already been offered in explanation of the very opposite characters of figure admired in the two sexes. A woman should be extremely slender and fragile in appearance; a man very stout—not in those proportions that denote muscular strength, and what we call *condition*—but corpulent, obese, aldermanlike. It is fashionable in both men and women to allow the nails of the left hand to grow to an inordinate length, until they assume an appearance very like the claws of the bradypus, as represented in Sir

Charles Bell's work on the "Hand." An English gentleman in China reasonably prohibited one of his servants from indulging in this piece of foppery on the ground that fingers provided with such appliances could not possibly perform any work. The brittleness of the nail rendering it liable to break, have been known sometimes to protect it when long, by means of thin slips of bamboo.

But the most unaccountable species of taste is the mutilation of the women's feet, for which the Ch



[Small feet of a Chinese Lady.]

are so remarkable. Of the origin of this custom there is no very distinct account, except that it took place about the close of the T'ang dynasty, or the end of the ninth century of our era. The Tartars have had good sense not to adopt this artificial deformity, their ladies wear a shoe like that of the men, except that it has a white sole of still greater thickness. It would seem next to impossible to refer to any notions of physical beauty, however arbitrary, so shocking mutilation as that produced by the cramping of the foot in early childhood, it may partly be ascribed to the principle which dictates the fashion

ails. The idea conveyed by these is *exemption* *from labour*, and, as the small feet make cripples of men, it is fair to conclude that the idea of *genius* which they convey arises from a similar association. That appearance of helplessness, which is induced by the mutilation, they admire extremely, notwithstanding its very usual concomitant of sickness; the tottering gait of the poor women, as they hobbling upon the heel of the foot, they compare to the swaying of a willow agitated by the breeze. We find that this odious custom extends lower down the scale of society than might have been expected from its disabling effect upon those who have to labour for subsistence. If the custom was first imposed by the tyranny of the men, the women are fully repaid in the diminution of their charms and domestic usefulness.

Too many instances have the folly and childishness of a portion of mankind been more strikingly displayed than in those various, and occasionally very different, modes in which they have departed from the order of nature, and sought distinction even in deformity. Thus, while one race of people crushes the heads of its children, another flattens their heads between two boards; and, while we in Europe admire the artificial whiteness of the teeth, the Malays file off the enamel, and dye them black, for the all-sufficient reason that dogs' teeth are white! A New Zealand chief has his distinctive coat of arms emblazoned on his face, as well as on his limbs; and an anaconda is nothing if he have not bits of stone stuffed down a hole in each cheek. Quite as absurd, and more mischievous, is the infatuation which, among Europeans, attaches beauty to that modification of the human figure which resembles the wasp, and compresses the waist until the very ribs have been crushed, and the functions of the vital organs irregularly disordered.

It is an interesting question to investigate how the nations are to be ranked with other nations in the

as attributable to the regard paid to the aged; to the sobriety, industry, and intelligence of the lower classes; to the nearly total absence of hereditary rights and privileges; to the equal distribution of landed property; to the indisposition of governments to engage in schemes of foreign warfare and to a system of penal laws the most clearly comprehensive, and business-like of any, among *Asiatics*." It would be idle, on the other hand, to deny that they possess vices and defects to their own political and social condition.

It has been reasonably argued, by the author above quoted, that "a people whose written constitution is founded on the most ancient of principles, and whose frame of government is essentially conformed to the patriarchal system of the first ages, and which segregated themselves from the rest of mankind before the period at which the symbolic was superseded by the alphabetic character, and the patriarchal by other forms of government." The same circumstances of government and language, which denote the antiquity of the Chinese institutions, may, we think, count for their *durability*. The theory of government combining the *water and fire* principles which has

iced in the classification of the four ranks, or orders, to which the community of China is divided. These re, in the first place, the learned ; secondly, husband-men ; thirdly, manufacturers ; and, fourthly, merchants. This arrangement seems sufficiently correct and philosophical, considered with a reference merely to the successive rise of those four orders in the progress of society. In the earliest ages, superior wisdom and knowledge, the result of old age and experience, constitute the principal claim to respect and distinction. As society advances, and as nomadic tribes become fixed to particular spots, they turn their attention to the cultivation of land. With the gradual increase of raw produce, the rise of towns, and the adoption of exchanges between town and country, follow manufactures ; and lastly, with the growth of capital and the increase of manufactures, comes commerce, domestic and foreign.

But by the time that a country has reached a certain point of advancement, this pristine arrangement (with the exception of the first class) must be considered as merely nominal, and perhaps in some communities, rather as the inverse order in which the several classes will really stand in relation to each other. The influence of wealth—the consequence arising from superior possessions—will have its sway ; and as manufactures may become a more fertile source of wealth than tillage, and commerce than manufactures, so the former may impart greater influence to those who pursue them respectively. Accordingly, we find, in China, that the poor cultivator of one of those small patches to which the subdivision of inheritances tends to reduce the lands, derives little substantial benefit from the estimation in which his calling is affected to be held ; even though the emperor himself once a year guides the plough. On the other hand, the opulent merchant contrives to obtain the services of those whom he can benefit by his wealth ; even the acquaintance and good offices of persons in power, however low the nominal rank as-

signed to him in the theoretical institutions country. At the same time the class of the retain their supremacy far above all, and fill the of government.

Hereditary rank, without merit, is of little value to the possessor, as we have before noticed. The descendants of the Manchow family are ranked in degrees, which, for that reason only, were despised by the Jesuits with the titles of the orders of European nobility. These imperial descendants wear the yellow girdle, and, without power whatever, have certain small revenues allotted to them for a subsistence. Of course, as they multiply, some of the remoter branches become reduced to a very indigent condition, when unaided by personal exertion and merit. At the fall of the last Chinese dynasty, a vast number of the ejected family donned the yellow girdle, and sought for safety in a poor condition. It is said that many of the representatives of the *Ming* race still remain; one of them was sent to several of the Jesuits: and whenever it happens that rebellion succeeds against the Tartars, some of the number may probably be forthcoming.

The imperial relatives of the Tartar line being numerous, and withal brought up to a life of idleness, are, in many cases, ignorant, worthless, and dissipated; and it is possibly from some feeling of jealousy, as well as on account of their disorderly character, they are kept under very strict control. The British embassy had a specimen of their conduct and manners at Yuen-mingyuen, as well as of the ceremony with which they are occasionally treated. When they crowded, with a childish and uncivil curiosity, upon the English party, the principal party among the mandarins seized a whip, and, not satisfied with using that alone, actually *kicked* out the men in the yellow-girdles. In the previous mission of Macartney, Mr. Barrow has related an instance of the meanness of one of these princes of the blood: *less a person than a grandson of the emperor-*



ulty present, with a broad hint that his  
 ould be acceptable in return.

vo lines of the imperial house of China ;  
 nded from the great conqueror himself,  
 id from his collaterals, or his brothers  
 The first are called Tsoong-shě,\* " an-  
 ' and distinguished by a yellow girdle,  
 of the same colour. The second are  
 a Tartar word), and marked by a red  
 le. Everything about their dress and  
 bject to minute regulation. Some are  
 n the peacock's feather, and others al-  
 vilege of the green sedan. There are  
 ag their establishments and retinue, and  
 eunuchs which each may employ. The  
 er of these allowed to any individual is  
 ef of whom wears a white ball or button  
 'or the government of all the members  
 d kindred there is a court, called the  
 ancestral tribe." This is wholly distinct  
 ese courts, and has its own laws and  
 Wáng (called by the Jesuits *regulus*, or  
 resident of it.

al use of these imperial descendants  
 e formation of a courtly *appanage*, to  
 eror's state. They are obliged, at the  
 noon, to attend the court, and arrange  
 order, some within the audience-hall,  
 hout, at, or rather *before*, daybreak.  
 peror makes his appearance, they all  
 nd perform their adoration ; and it was  
 cted for this purpose at daybreak on  
 st, 1816, which so greatly annoyed the  
 sy by their importunate curiosity and  
 ness. It is their idle and useless life,  
 ce of any motives for exertion, which  
 persons frequently both ignorant and  
 xtremely troublesome to the emperor.

\* Tsoong-jin Foo.

Many have been ordered away from Peking to Manchow Tartary, to be placed under that of the native chiefs, while others have been to perpetual solitary confinement. In 181 the imperial clan, wearing a red girdle, four to Canton, where he had a relation by affinity as the provincial judge. His plea for capital was extreme poverty, but the judge venture to house him. He was delivered to the local authorities, and packed off as military escort to Peking, where it is said he up for the remainder of his life.

These persons are strongly contrasted, in intelligence, learning, and every other aspect, with the official rulers of China—itsocracy. The impartial distribution (with feigns) of state offices and magistracies to all evidence of superior learning or talent, without birth or possessions, lies probably at the the greatness and prosperity of the empire. can be more true than the observations on that of the late Dr. Milne, an excellent Chinese. "This principle has always been maintained; as may naturally be supposed, it has often been departed from. Yet the existence of ciple, and its being acted on to a considerable gives every person in China (with the exmerial servants, the lowest agents of the comedians) a solid reason to be satisfied system. They are ambitious who general governments; but in China there is a road ambitious, without the dreadful alternative tionizing the country. All that is required is the very reasonable thing that he should proof of the possession of superior talents.

"The government affords him every th and occasionally oftener, an opportunity of his attainments in a stipulated way; and, i give offices to all, it gives honours, and de successful candidate eligible to a situation.

litary; and, finally, to the highest offices of the if his merits shall entitle him thereto. The it dynasty has frequently sold commissions both : civil service and in the army, in order to sup- s pecuniary wants; which circumstance gives dissatisfaction to those who depend on their ng and knowledge for promotion; and this con- s generally deemed disreputable. Those of the unity who are raised above manual labour, or rudgery of daily business, are occupied with gratifies either their laudable emulation, or their and ambition; and from amongst these, when te wants men, it selects the best talents of the country. I submit it, whether the principle e system, which I have thus slightly exhibited, t the great secret of the Chinese aggrandise-

superior honours paid to letters over arms must o make Chinese ambition run in a peaceful el. At the annual meetings of the mandarins provincial capitals, to perform adoration before peror's shrine on his birth-day, this difference rn by the civil officers taking their places to the he higher station), and the others to the west. vil mandarins look upon Confucius as their pe- patron, and are in fact the high priesthood, sole privilege it is to sacrifice at his temples. lineal descendants of Confucius also have some ary honours. The head of this race is always uished by the title of Koong, the highest of the grees before mentioned. He repairs to Peking year from Keô-fow Hien, in Shantung province, th-place of the great philosopher and statesman, eives certain marks of distinction from the em- Père Bouvet, in 1693, found the governor of a or city of the second order, in one of the south- vvinces, bearing the same surname, and deriv- descent from the deified teacher of China, but l earned *his office* by his learning, and not by *ant*. *The great limitation in the privileges of*

the various species of hereditary rank, and the annual subdivision of property among a man's numerous descendants, are the causes which prevent any individual becoming dangerous by his influence or wealth. The true aristocracy of China, its official rulers, are of course a constantly fluctuating body. The gentry, in every province, below these, consist of the mandarin retired from employment, and all who have attained any of the three literary degrees, or the nine ranks distinguished by the ball on the cap. The merit of a son often elevates his parents, and posthumous titles of dignity are occasionally conferred on the ancestors for several generations.

Among the various causes which conduce to the position of the upper classes in China their unostentatious character, and to prevent expensiveness being the *fashion* among them, we may observe that a sufficient reason exists for the absence of magnificence in the establishments of official persons, independently of its being their *policy* to affect simplicity. As a man can exercise office in his birth-place, or patrimony abode, he can have no motive to expend money in his official residence, from which he is liable at the shortest notice to be removed elsewhere; the long period being generally three years. Hence official persons are commonly very shabby in everything of their personal habiliments; their followers even be often dirty and ragged. The pride of external pomp and retinue is not allowed, on ordinary occasions, any except the official aristocracy, and with these consists rather in the *number* than in the *condition* of their attendants.

The intercourse of social life in all cases where men are confined to their homes, or to the company of their own sex, must of course suffer; and accordingly we find that in China it is cold, formal, and cumbered with the ponderous system of ceremonies which have been transmitted from time immemorial. *These*, however, are occasionally cast off in the *scenes of convivial excess* into which exclusively

society is so apt to degenerate, when the recoil is sometimes as great on the side of licence, as the previous restraint has been strict. It must be observed, however, in justice to the better class of Chinese, that these scenes are held in deserved disrepute, and prove always more or less injurious to a man's character.

Notwithstanding the general disadvantages on the side of the weaker sex here, in common with other Asiatic countries, its respectability is in some degree preserved by a certain extent of authority allowed to widows over their sons, and by the homage which these are obliged to pay to their mothers. The emperor himself performs the ceremonies of the *Kotow* before his own mother, who receives them seated on a throne. They have a maxim, that "a woman is thrice dependent: before marriage on her father; after marriage, on her husband; when a widow, on her son;" but this seems to mean principally with reference to support and subsistence.

The ladies of the better class are instructed in embroidering, as well as painting on silk, and music is, of course, a favourite accomplishment. They are not often very deeply versed in letters, but celebrated instances are sometimes quoted of those who have been skilled in composing verses. The modesty of manner which is deemed so essential to the female character is heightened by their dress, frequently of magnificent materials, and in fashion extremely becoming. They reckon it indecorous in women of birth and breeding to show even their hands, and in touching or moving anything these are generally covered by the long sleeve. The Chinese look upon the dresses of European ladies (as sometimes represented in drawings or paintings) with surprise, and they certainly present a considerable contrast to their own. Perhaps in both instances the just medium may be in some measure departed from, although in contrary directions.

There is no point on which greater misconception has prevailed than respecting the existence of *universal polygamy in China*. We will state the case

exactly, from the preface to the translation of "Fortunate Union," which is therein declared to "a more faithful picture of Chinese manners, in much as the hero espouses but *one wife*. It is strictly true that their laws sanction *polygamy*, though they permit *concubinage*. A Chinese can have one Tsy, or wife, properly so called, who is distinguished by a title, espoused with ceremonies, chosen from a rank of life totally different from Tsië, or handmaids, of whom he may have as many as few as he pleases; and though the offspring of latter possess many of the rights of legitimacy (ranked however, after the children of the wife), this circumstance makes little difference as to the truth of the position. Even in the present romance, the profligate hero aims at effecting his union with the heroine, only setting aside his previous marriage with her cousin informal. Any Chinese fiction, therefore (and of these there are many), which describes a man espousing two wives, is, in this respect, no truer a picture of existing manners, than in respect to any other silly amusing extravagance which it may happen to contain. In fact, the wife is of equal rank with her husband by birth, and espoused with regular marriage ceremonies; possessing, moreover, certain legal rights such as they are; the handmaid is bought for money and received into the house nearly like any other domestic. The principle on which Chinese law and custom admit the offspring of concubinage to legitimate rights is obvious; the importance which attaches in that country to the securing of male descendant. It is plain that the Tsy and the Tsië stand to each other in very much the same relation as the Sarah and the Hagar of the Old Testament, and therefore the common expression *first* and *second wife*, which the translator himself has used on former occasions, in imitation of his predecessors, is hardly correct."

If a person has *sons* by his wife (for daughters never enter into the account), it is considered derogatory to *take a handmaid* at all; but if he has not, it is

course allowable. Still, for every additional repetition, he sinks in personal respectability, and none, in any case, but the rich can afford it. But the strongest dissuatives to a prudent person, on these occasions, are the domestic jealousies that inevitably fill the household with confusion, and sometimes with crime. The Chinese have a maxim, that "nine women in ten are jealous," and they speak feelingly.

Without doubt it is a double calamity to a Chinese wife to be childless, and the sentiment of Creusa in the Greek play must be universal :—

Καὶ τὰνδ' ἀπάντων ἐσχατον πειρᾷ κακὸν  
 \_\_\_\_\_ ἐκ δούλης τινος

Γυναικός, εἰς σὸν δαίμα δέσποτὴν ἀγειν.

*Eurip.* (Iων. 836.)

The feeling is very strongly portrayed in the drama called "An Heir in Old Age," translated from the Chinese into English, and from the English version into French. Here the spouse of an old man, who has only one daughter, in concert with her own child and the young man to whom the latter is married, drives from the house a handmaid, who, being pregnant, is an object of unconquerable jealousy to all parties, except the old man himself, who is anxiously expecting an heir. Both the woman and child are concealed for three years, after which the jealous feeling of the wife is overcome, only by the consideration that, without a male heir, they shall have nobody to sacrifice to their manes after death. This regard to the *sepulchral rites*, by the way, is another feeling not peculiar to China, but one powerfully developed in several of the Greek plays ; as the Ajax, and the Choëphori, of Sophocles.

The women, whom a rich Chinese takes in the event of his wife proving barren, are generally purchased for a sum of money. They are, of course, from the lowest ranks, entering the family as domestic slaves ; and the prevalence of this condition may be traced to the difficulty of subsistence in so thickly-peopled a country, which leads many to sell their

children, sometimes their wives, and even themselves. Men of high spirit and principle have been known object to their daughters being handmaids even to the emperor himself; though, of course, this is an exception to the general rule. When the sovereign espoused an empress with the usual ceremonies, supplied with handmaids from among the daughters of *Tartars* principally, selected on account of beauty. On the death of an emperor, all these men are shut up in a secluded part of the palace, debarred from marriage with any one. Marco Polo, with his usual fidelity, describes the process of selecting the Tartar ladies for the emperor, in the way which appears exactly to be followed at the present day.

Marriage among the Chinese, with every circumstance relating to it, is so fully described in the "Fortunate Union," that the curious reader may be referred for details to that specimen of Chinese literature and manners. It may be as well, in this place, to remark on the principal legal conditions of married state, and then to describe the ceremony attendant on the espousals. Their maxim is, that a married woman can commit no crime; the responsibility rests with her husband." Throughout the Chinese law, obligations and penalties seem to be perfectly fairly adjusted; excepting always in cases of *treason*. A child, a wife, or a dependant, being very much under the disposal of the father, husband, or master, are fortunately exempt from punishment when acting under their authority. A woman on marriage assumes her husband's surname. Marriage between all persons of the *same surname* being unlawful, this must, of course, include all descendants of the same branch for ever; and as, in so vast a population, there are not a great many more than one hundred names throughout the empire, the embarrassments that arise from so strict a law must be considerable. There is likewise a prohibition of wedlock between some of the nearest relations by affinity; and marriage of an officer of government with an actress



void, the parties being, besides, punishable with sixty blows.

There are seven grounds of divorce, and some of them are amusing. The first, barrenness, would seem to be superfluous, as there is a remedy provided in legal concubinage; but the truth is, that either resource, or perhaps both, are in a man's power at his option. The other causes of separation are, adultery, disobedience to the husband's parents, *talkativeness*, *thieving*, ill-temper, and inveterate infirmities. Any of these, however, may be set aside by three circumstances; the wife having mourned for her husband's parents; the family having acquired wealth since the marriage; and the wife being without parents to receive her back. It is in all cases disreputable, and in some (as those of a particular rank) illegal, for a widow to marry again. Whenever a widow is herself unwilling, the law protects her; and should she act by the compulsion of parents, or other relations, these are severely punishable. Widows, indeed, have a very powerful dissuasive from second wedlock, in being absolute mistress of themselves and children so long as they remain in their existing condition.

From the Budhists, who say that "those connected in a previous existence become united in this," the Chinese have borrowed the notion that marriage goes by destiny. A certain deity, whom they style *Yue-lau*, "the old man of the moon," unites with a silken cord (they relate) all predestined couples, after which nothing can prevent their ultimate union. Early marriages are promoted by every motive that can influence humanity, and we shall have to notice these particulars in treating of the excessive population of the country. Their maxim is, "there are three great acts of disregard to parents, and to die without a progeny is the *chief*." The most essential circumstance in a respectable family alliance is, that there should be equality of rank and station on either side, or that "the gates" should correspond," as the Chinese express it.

\* *Mun-hoo teng-tay*.

The marriage is preceded by a negotiation called conducted by agents or go-betweens, selected by parents. The aid of judicial astrology is now common, and the horoscopes of the two parties compared under the title of "eight characters," which express the year, month, day, and hour of the natiivities of the intended couple. This being settled, presents are brought by the bridegroom in ratification of the union; the bride in ordinary cases brings neither present nor dower to her husband. The choice of a lucky day is considered of such importance, that if the *Kale* (in which all these matters are noted with the sanction of a Partridge, Moore, or Sidrophel himself) should be unfavourable in its auguries, the ceremony is postponed for months. These superstitions are common to all times and countries. In the *Iphigenia at Aulis* one of the plays of Euripides, we have an exact instance in point. Clytemnestra says to her husband, who is deceiving her about their daughter, "On what day will our child wed?"—to which he replies, "When the day of a fortunate moon shall arrive."

The most appropriate and felicitous time for marriage is considered to be in spring, and the first month of the Chinese year (February) is preferred. It is in this month that the peach-tree blossoms in China, and hence there are constant allusions to it in connection with marriage. These verses from the *elementary* of Sir William Jones, are the paraphrase of a literal translation which that indefatigable scholar has made of a passage in the Chinese "Book of Odes":

"Sweet child of spring, the garden's queen,  
Yon peach-tree charms the roving sight;  
Its fragrant leaves how richly green,  
Its blossoms how divinely bright!

"So softly shines the beauteous bride,  
By love and conscious virtue led,  
O'er her new mansion to preside,  
And placid joys around her spread."

Some time previous to the day fixed, the bride

groom is invested ceremoniously with a dress cap or bonnet, and takes an additional name. The bride, at the same time, whose hair had until this hung down in long tresses, has it turned up in the manner of married women, and fastened with bodkins. When the wedding day arrives, the friends of the bridegroom send him presents in the morning, with their congratulations. Among the presents are live geese, which are emblematical of the concord of the married state, and some of these birds are always carried in the procession. The bride's relations likewise send her gifts, consisting chiefly of female finery; and her young sisters and friends of her own sex come and weep with her until it is time to leave the house of her parents. At length, when the evening arrives,\* and the stars just begin to be visible, the bridegroom comes with an ornamented sedan, and a cavalcade of lanterns, music, &c., to fetch home his spouse. On their reaching his residence, the bride is carried into the house in the arms of the matrons who act as her friends, and lifted over a pan of charcoal at the door; the meaning of which ceremony is not clear, but which may have reference to the commencement of her household duties. She soon after issues from the bridal chamber with her attendants into the great hall, bearing the prepared Areca, or betel-nut, and invites the guests there assembled to partake of it. Having gone through some ceremonies in company with the bridegroom, she is led back to her chamber, where she is unveiled by her future husband. A table is then spread, and the cup of alliance is drank together by the young couple. Some fortunate matron, the mother of many children, then enters and pronounces a benediction, as well as going through the form of laying the nuptial bed. Meanwhile the party of friends in the hall make merry, and when the bride-

\* In accordance with an epithalamium in one of their ancient books, in which is this line, "The three stars shine on the gate."

groom joins them they either ply him with wine or according to the character and grade of the company. When the hour of retirement arrives, they escort him to the door of the chamber in a body, and then disappear.

On the following day, the new couple come for the first time to the great hall, where they adore the household gods, and pay their respects to their parents and near relations. They then return to their chamber, where they receive the visits of their young friends; and the whole of the first month is devoted in like manner to leisure and amusement. On the third day after the wedding, the bride proceeds in an ornamented sedan to visit her parents: and at length when the month has expired, the bride's friends send her a particular dress; an entertainment is partaken of by the friends of both parties, and the marriage ceremony thereby concluded. On some occasions, the bride is espoused at the house of her own parents, with but a little difference in the forms. Both these modes are detailed in the novel of the Fortunate Union.

It may be remarked that, as so many parties are concerned in the conduct of the negotiations previous to marriage, and as the two persons principally interested never see each other the whole time, there is no door open to fraud and trickery, as well as to misunderstandings of all kinds. It cannot be supposed, however, nor indeed is it true in practice, that the bridegroom has *never* in any case *seen* his intended spouse previous to wedlock; though of course the separation of the sexes must prevent any intimacy or society between them. The law provides for all cases of dispute or detected imposture, some of which enter into the plot of the novel already referred to. Both parties are called upon explicitly to make known to each other the existence of any bodily or constitutional defect; what the true age of each is; whether they were born of a wife or a concubine; whether real offspring, or only adopted. Should there be *any* suppression of what is true, or any allegation of what is false, the penalties are severe. The Chin

law prohibits all marriages between subjects and foreigners, and even forbids any alliances between the unsubdued mountaineers, called Meaou-tse, in the interior of the empire, and its own people in the neighbouring plains.

When women prove childless, they pay adoration to the goddess Kuán-yin, a principal image in Buddhist temples, whose name means "heedful of prayers" (*ter vocata audit*), and whose functions seem compounded of those of Venus genetrix and Lucina. There is, however, the widest difference, in their estimation, between male and female offspring; the former are as eagerly desired as the latter are generally deprecated. Sons are considered in this country, where the power over them is so absolute through life, as a sure support, as well as a probable source of wealth or dignities, should they succeed in learning; but the grand object is the perpetuation of the race, to sacrifice at the family tombs. Without sons, a man lives without honour or satisfaction, and dies unhappy; and, as the only remedy, he is permitted to adopt the sons of his younger brothers. Sometimes, however, the extreme desire of male offspring leads parents to suborn the midwives to purchase a boy of some poor person, and substitute it for the girl, just born. This is termed *tow loong hock foong*—"stealing a dragon in exchange for a phoenix."

Their maxim is, that, as the emperor should have the care of a father for his people, a father should have the power of a sovereign over his family. A man is even able to sell his children for slaves, as appears from the constant practice. They do not subscribe to the precept of Rousseau—"Quand chacun pourrait s'aliéner lui-même, il ne peut aliéner ses enfans." How completely the children of concubines pertain to the lawful wife is proved by this passage in the drama of "An Heir in Old Age," where, in addressing his wife, the old man says, "Seau-mei is now pregnant; whether she produces a boy or a girl, the same will be *your property*; you may then hire out her services, or

long-me, honours, lenity. The boy is in behaviour and in ceremonies from his earliest hood, and at four or five he commences reading. The importance of general education was known since in China, that a work, written before the Christian era, speaks of the "*ancient* system of instruction, which required that every town and village, only a few families, should have a common school. The wealthy Chinese employ private teachers; others send their sons to day-schools, which are well attended, that the fees paid by each boy are extremely small. In large towns there are academies, of which those who are obliged to pass through the day avail themselves.

The sixteen discourses of the Emperor Yoor, called the Sacred Edicts, commence with the duties as the foundation of the political; the eleventh treats of instructing the younger branch of a family. Dr. Morrison, in his dictionary, has made a selection from one hundred rules, or maxims, observed at a school, some of which are excellent. Among other points, the habit of *at* dwelt upon as of primary importance, and

will not operate ; after which it is the custom to disgrace a boy by making him remain on his knees at his seat before the whole school, or sometimes at the door, while a stick of incense (a sort of slow match) burns to a certain point : the last resort is to flog him.

The object of the government, as Dr. Morrison justly observed, in making education general, is not to extend the bounds of knowledge, but to impart the knowledge already possessed to as large a portion as possible of the rising generation, and “ to pluck out true talent ” from the mass of the community for its own service. The advancement of learning, or discoveries in physical science, are not in its contemplation. It prescribes the books to be studied ; a departure from which is *heterodoxy* ; and discountenances all innovations that do not originate with itself. In this we may perceive one of the causes, not only of the stationary and unprogressive character of Chinese institutions, but likewise of their permanency and continuance.

The process of early instruction in the language is this : they first teach children a few of the principal characters (as the names of the chief objects in nature or art), exactly as we do the letters, by rude pictures, having the characters attached. Then follows the *Santse-king*, or “ trimetrical classic,” being a summary of infant erudition, conveyed in chiming lines of three words or feet. They soon after proceed to the “ Four Books,” which contain the doctrines of Confucius, and which, with the “ Five Classics ” subsequently added, are in fact the Chinese scriptures. The Four Books they learn by heart entirely, and the whole business of the literary class is afterwards to comment on them, or compose essays on their texts. Writing is taught by tracing the characters, with their hair pencil, on transparent paper placed over the copy, and they commence with very large characters in the first instance. Specimens of this species of caligraphy are contained in the Royal Asiatic Transactions. In lieu of slates, they generally use boards painted white to save paper,

washing out the writing when finished. Instruments are of course very plentiful, on account of the numbers who enter the learned profession, and failing the higher degrees.

Every principal city is furnished with halls of examination, and the embassy of 1816 was lodged in one of these buildings, at Nânheung-foo, a town at the bottom of the pass which leads northward from Canton province. It consisted of a number of hall-courts, surrounded by separate cells for the candidates, who are admitted with nothing but blank paper and the implements of writing; a part of the arrangement which corresponds with our college examinations. The students who succeed in their own district, at the annual examination, are ranked as *Sao-tse*, or first class, and according to their merits are drafted for further advancement, until they become fitted for the triennial examination, held at the provincial college by an officer expressly deputed from the Imperial College at Peking. The papers consist of moral or political essays on texts selected from the sacred books, as well as of verses on given subjects. Pains are taken to prevent the examiners from knowing the authors of the essays and poems; but of course such precautions cannot always be effectual in shutting out abuse.

Those who succeed at the triennial examination attain the rank of *Kiu-jin*, which may be properly termed licentiate, as it qualifies for actual employment; and once in three years all these licentiates repair to Peking (their expenses being paid if necessary), to be examined for the *Tsin-ssu*, or doctor's degree, to which only thirty can be admitted at a time. From these doctors are selected the members of the imperial college of Hânlin, after an examination held in the palace itself. These fortunate and illustrious persons form the body from whom ministers of the emperor are generally chosen.

A man's sons may or may not be instrumental to their literary success, in reflecting honour on their parents, or advancing them in worldly rank and





[Chinese Bookseller.]

sperity; but the mere chance of this, joined to heavy responsibility for their conduct, is a great inducement to fathers to bring them up with care may serve to account for the great and universal valence of a certain degree of education throughout the empire. Such is the demand on every individual for exertion, in a country so thickly peopled, that children of the very lowest classes, whom extreme indigence precludes from the hope or chance of rising by learning, are trained to labour and to the call of life almost from the time they can first walk. With a slight stick or pole, proportioned to their size, across their shoulders, young children are constantly trudging along with weights, sometimes much heavier than they ought to carry, or busily engaged in various serious employments, as the assistants of their parents. In a country where the youngest cannot afford to be idle, and where, as their proverb strongly expresses, "to stop the hand is the way to stop the mouth," there is an air of staid gravity about some of the children quite unsuited to their years.

But it is not during his life only that a man is valued for the services of his sons. It is his consolative duty, in his declining years, to think that they will continue the performance of the prescribed rites in the honour of their ancestors, and at the family tombs, when he is no more; and it is the absence of this prospect which makes the childless doubly miserable. The superstition derives influence from the importance attached by the government to this species of posthumous duty, a neglect of which is punishable, as we have seen in the laws. Indeed, of all the subjects of their duty there are none which the Chinese so religiously attend to as the tombs of their ancestors, conceiving that neglect is sure to be followed by worldly misfortune. It is almost the only thing that approaches to the character of a "religious sense" among them; throughout their idolatrous superstitions, there is a remarkable absence of reverence towards the idols of the priests of the Budh and Taou sects. The want

ceremony with which they treat their gods is not more surprising, however, than the apparently impious expressions which are occasionally used in the ancient classics of Europe towards the whole family of Olympus :—

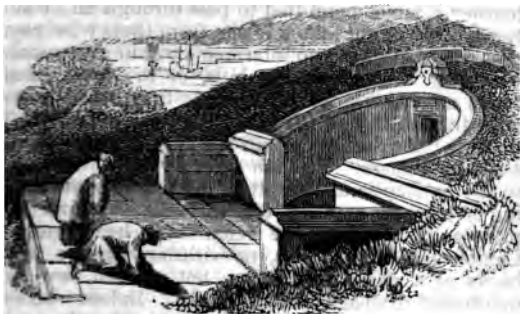
“Tunc cum virguncula Juno!”

When a parent or elder relation among the Chinese dies, the event is formally announced to all the branches of the family: each side of the doors is distinguished by labels in white, which is the mourning colour. The lineal descendants of the deceased, clothed in coarse white cloth, with bandages of the same round their heads, sit weeping near the corpse on the ground, the women keeping up a dismal howl after the manner of the Irish. In the mean time, the friends of the deceased appear with white coverlids of linen or silk, which are placed on the body; the eldest son, or next lineal male descendant, supported on each side by relations, and bearing in his hands a porcelain bowl containing two copper coins, now proceeds to the river, or the nearest well, or the wet ditch of the city, to “buy water,” as it is termed. The ceremony must be performed by the *eldest son's son*, in preference to the second son, and entitles him to a double share of the property, which in other respects is divided equally among the sons. The form of washing the face and body with this water being completed, the deceased is dressed as in life, and laid in a coffin, of which the planks are from four to six inches in thickness, and the bottom strewed with quick-lime. On being closed, it is made air-tight by cement, being besides varnished on the inside and outside. A tablet is then placed on it bearing inscribed the name and titles of the deceased, as they are afterwards to be cut upon his tomb.

On the expiration of thrice seven, or twenty-one days, the funeral procession takes place, the tablet being conveyed in a gilded sedan or pavilion, with incense and offerings before it. It is accompanied by music *closely resembling* the Scottish bagpipe, with the continual repetition of three successive strokes on

of "the end," is an odd accidental coincidence of the rich and great are sometimes very contain a considerable quantity of massive figures of animals in stone. The whole sepulchral rites, with the sentiments of them concerning the dead, are contained in the "An Heir in Old Age."

After the interment, the tablet of the dead is brought back in procession, and if the family it is placed in the hall of ancestors; if poor part of the house, with incense before it. Every year, in the spring and autumn, are fixed for performing the rites to the dead, but is the principal period, and the only one attended to. Unlike the generality of Chinese, which are regulated by the moon (and moveable), this is determined by the sun, annually 105 days after the winter solstice, 5th of April. About that time (for a day before or after does not signify to them) the whole population of the town is seen trooping out in the hills, to repair and sweep the tombs, offerings, leaving behind them, on their return



[Chinese Sepulchre.]

of ignorant monks, who flocked to the breach which those scientific and able men had opened, jealous, perhaps, at their success, brought this as a charge against them, until the point became one of serious controversy and reference to the pope. His holiness being determined to govern men's consciences ateking, and supersede the emperor's authority over his own subjects, espoused the bigoted and unwiserart, which, of course, led to the expulsion of the monks of all varieties, "black, white, and grey, with all their trumpery," and prevented those social and political mischiefs which have invariably attended their influence elsewhere. Such a strict persecution of the Romish converts followed, that after the lapse of about three centuries, the number of them at the present day is as nothing in comparison with what it once was. The emperor said of their conduct, "This is only as contradictory to reason and social order, as the wild fury of a mad dog." With reference to some of their miracles (of which they were liberal), he said, "it would appear to be a tale which their ingenuity has contrived; and upon this principle what is more we may not readily expect them to say or write?" The body of a rich person is generally transported to his native province, however distant; but on the

journey it is not permitted to pass through town. We might take a lesson from their practice of allowing no interments within confining them either to hills, or the tracts unavailable for cultivation; thus once the health and the subsistence of the perform "the rites at the *hills*" is synonym *tombs* in Chinese. To such sanatory regu to the antiseptic effects attending the coing of incense, crackers, &c. in every hot principally attribute the remarkable he Canton and other towns, notwithstanding backs of a dense population, hot climat indifferent drainage of houses, &c. Inde not for the comparative coldness of the European cities where such abominations gorging the earth with corpses until it refus them, and the filling of churches with d might work effects sufficiently evident to e prejudices which,

"Sans honorer les morts, font mourir les vi  
No corpse is ever allowed to be carried up place, or to pass through a gateway which way be construed as pertaining to the emp count of the supposed ill omen, concerning Chinese are so particular as seldom even death except by a circumlocution, as "to l *mortal*," that is, in the modified sense of th

On the occasion of a deceased officer from ship being taken ashore for burial at Macao were proceeding with the coffin up the st to the Chinese custom-house, when the innr latter turned out with sticks and staves them. The sailors being, as usual, quit fight, particularly on an occasion when the some insult was intended to the dead, it is mischief might have ensued, if a person o who understood the prejudice, and explain *factorily*, had not prevented the effects of *derstanding*.

*The importance which the Chinese at*

it in which a body should be buried, is sometimes the occasion of extraordinary delay in the performance of the funeral ceremonies. A Hong merchant at Canton, who was the eldest son of the family, and had been referred for various superstitious reasons the interment of his father's body, was prosecuted at law by his next brother, and finally compelled to commit it to the tomb. The principal scruples on these occasions arise from circumstances relative to the situation and aspect of the sepulchre, a sort of geomantic science, in which the same cheats who profess astrology affect to be adepts. Their calling is a sufficiently serious one, since it is as difficult to prove the *negative* of the *affirmative* of those propositions in which they deal; and the dead make no complaints, being on such points, as the doctor in Molière says, "*Les plus sages gens du monde.*" The choice of a lucky spot is supposed to have a considerable influence on the fortunes of the survivors, and they will sometimes, after the lapse of many years, dig up the bones with care, and remove them to a distant and more favourable spot. All tombs are sacred to *How-too*, "queen earth," an expression which has a most singular parallel, not only in the words, but the occasion of their use, in a scene of the *Electra* of Euripides, where Orestes, calling the shade of his father at the tomb, adds,—

Καὶ γῆ τ' ἀνασσα, χεῖρας ἢ διδώμ' ἐμας.\*

And thou, *queen earth*, to whom I stretch my hands."

The original and strict period of mourning (according to the ritual) is three years for a parent, but is commonly reduced in practice to thrice or twenty-seven months, during which an officer of the highest rank must retire to his house, unless he obtains a particular dispensation from the emperor. A period of three years must elapse before children may marry subsequent to the death of their parents. The colour of mourning is white, and dull black, with round buttons of crystal or glass, in the buttonholes: the *ornamental ball*, denoting rank, is worn on the cap, as well as the tuft of crimson

\* *Electr.* 677.

silk which falls over the latter. As the Chinese at their heads, the neglect and desolation of mourning are indicated by letting the hair grow; for the same reason that some nations, who wore their hair long, have shaved it during that period. On the death of the emperor, the same observances are kept, by hundreds of millions of subjects, as on the death of the parent of each individual; the whole empire remains unshaven for the space of one hundred days while the period of mourning apparel lasts long, and all officers of government take the ball and cushion silk from their caps. It is said that, on the death of K'ang-hy's empress, four of her maids desired to be buried with her; but that wise monarch would not permit the exercise of this piece of Scythian barbarism, the practice of which he abolished for ever in favour of the more humane and civilized customs of the Chinese.

In regard to the succession to paternal property, the disposal of it by will is restricted except to the legal heirs; and we have seen that, to a very limited extent, there is a law of *primogeniture*, in which the eldest son, or he who "buys water" at the funeral rites, has a double portion. More correctly speaking, perhaps, the property may be said to descend to the eldest son *in trust* for all the young brothers, over whom he has a considerable authority and who commonly live together and club their share, by which means families in this over-peopled country are more easily subsisted than they would otherwise be, and every man's income is made to go the farthest possible. To this usage, and the necessity for it, may be attributed the constant exhortations of the emperor, in the book of "Sacred Edicts," relative to the preservation of union and concord among kindred and their families.

\* *Leu-lee*, sec. 78.



END OF VOLUME I.



**THE CHINESE:**  
**A**  
**GENERAL DESCRIPTION**  
**OF**  
**HINA AND ITS INHABITANTS,**

**By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., &c.**  
**GOVERNOR OF HONG-KONG.**

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*A NEW EDITION, ENLARGED AND REVISED.*

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# THE CHINESE.

## CHAPTER IX.

### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

perhaps, no people in the world that keep days than the Chinese, among whose overpopulation the introduction of a Romish of saints would be altogether disastrous. Their festivals are regulated by the sun, and are fixed, as the winter solstice, and the pe-ting the tombs; but the greater number dependent on the moon, become accordingly

The principal, and almost the only *university* of leisure and rejoicing is the new year, at which, indeed, the whole empire may be said to be beside itself. On the approach of the new year, which falls nearest to the point when the sun is in the sign of Aquarius (the commencement of the civil year), all public offices are closed for many days in advance, and the mandarins lock up their offices until the 20th of the first moon. On the last day of the old year, everybody sits up until the moment of midnight commences an *ardeur de joie* of crackers strung together. The consumption of this noisy species of fire-works is so enormous that the air becomes absolutely thick with nitre; and a governor of Canton once attempted to suppress it, on the ground of the *wastefulness of the practice*, though it *contributes to the healthiness of Chinese towns*.

From midnight until dawn everybody is engaged the performance of sacred rites, or in preparing house for the solemnities of the new year. Many through the ceremony of washing and bathing in water, in which are infused the aromatic leaves of Hoangpy, a fruit tree. Every dwelling is swept, garnished, and the shrine of the household gods decorated with huge porcelain dishes or vases containing the fragrant gourd, the large citron, called by the "the hand of Budh" (or Fô), and the flowers of narcissus. The bulbs of this last are placed in or vases filled with smooth rounded pebbles and water just so long before the time as to be in full bloom exactly at the new year. Early on the morning the first day of the first moon, crowds repair to different temples in their best attire, kindred and acquaintance meet, and visits are paid universally; offer the compliments of the season. A man on day hardly knows his own domestics, so finely they attired; and on all sides along the streets may be seen the bowings and half-kneelings, with the affected efforts to prevent them, which constitute a part of Chinese ceremonies of courtesy.

The large red tickets of congratulation which are sent to each other on this occasion have a woodcut representing the three principal felicities in Chinese estimation, namely, male offspring, official employment (or promotion), and long life. These are indicated by the figures of a child, a mandarin, and an aged figure accompanied by a stork, the emblem of longevity. For the space of the first three days would be reckoned unlucky, if not criminal, to perform any work beyond what is required by the exigencies of life, and many defer their occupations for about twenty days. At every house the visitors are received with ready cups of tea, and with the best as used in India and the Eastern islands. That nothing may interrupt the general festivity, the termination of the previous year is occupied in settling all outstanding money accounts, and the discredit is so great

if not being able to pay up at that period, that many will borrow, at a ruinous rate, of Peter, in order to satisfy the demands of Paul. It being the custom to kill great numbers of capons previous to the new year, an unhappy debtor, who cannot arrange with his creditors at that period, is said, in derision, to have "a capon's destiny."

The new year is the principal period for exchanging presents among friends. These commonly consist of delicacies, as rare fruits, sweetmeats, fine tea, and occasionally of silk stuffs for dresses, and ornaments of various kinds. These are accompanied by a list inscribed on a red ticket, which it is customary to return by the bearer, with this inscription, "received with thanks." The compliment is immediately to be returned by presents of the same kind, and in the same manner, the servants who convey them always receiving a reward. It is an unpardonable insult to send back a batch of these new-year's gifts, though, if they be deemed too liberal, a selection may be made, and the rest returned, with this note beside them on the ticket, "The pearls are declined." The better kinds of fruits, tea, and other articles used on these occasions are for the same reason styled "ceremonial, or present goods."

The first full moon of the new year is the Feast of lanterns, being a display of ingenuity and taste in the construction and mechanism of an infinite variety of lanterns made of silk, varnish, horn, paper, and brass, some of them supplied with moving figures of men galloping on horseback, fighting, or performing various feats, together with numerous representations of beasts, birds, and other living creatures, the whole in full motion. The moving principle in these is the same with that of the smoke-jack, being a horizontal wheel turned by the draft of air created by the heat of the lamp. The circular motion is communicated in various directions by fine threads attached to the moving figures. The general effect is extremely splendid; though, as objects of real use, the Chinese



[Chinese Lanterns.]

lamps labour under the disadvantage of giving a poor light, which arises in part from the opacity of the materials, and the superfluity of ornament, principally from the badness of the lamp itself, which is simply a cotton wick immersed in a cup of oil; they have no way of increasing the light except adding to the number of wicks. They seem to resemble our Argand lamps, but seldom use them, except in compliment to European guests: and, even when received as presents, they may frequently be seen to moulder in a dusty corner.

The fireworks of the Chinese are sometimes ingenious and entertaining, rather, however, on account of the variety of moving figures which they exhibit than the brilliancy or skill of the pyrotechny, which is inferior to our own. Their best thing of the kind, what Europeans call a *drum*, from its being a cylindrical case, in which is contained a multitude of *figures* folded into a small space, and so contrived to drop in succession on strings, and remain suspended



in motion, during the explosion of the various fireworks contained within the cylinder. They likewise contrive to make paper figures of boats to float and move upon the water, by means of a stream of fire issuing from the stern. Their rockets are bad, but blue lights they manufacture sufficiently well for the use of European ships.

In their diversions, the Chinese have much of that childish character which distinguishes other Asiatics. Science, as an amusement, may be said to be entirely wanting to them, and the intellect cannot be unbended from the pursuits of business by the rational conversation or occupations which distinguish the superior portions of European society. The mind under a despotism has few of those calls for exertion, among the bulk of the people, which in free states give it manly strength and vigour. Bearing no part in public transactions, and living in uninterrupted peace, the uniform insipidity of their existence is relieved by any, even the most frivolous and puerile, amusements. This feature, as well as the very striking *contrariety* of Chinese customs, in comparison with our own, are given with sufficient correctness in the following passages from a little work printed at Macao, which are inserted here, divested of some of the buffoonery of the original:—

“ On inquiring of the boatman in which direction Macao lay, I was answered, in the west-north, the wind, as I was informed, being east-south. We do not say so in Europe, thought I; but imagine my surprise when, in explaining the utility of the compass, the boatman added, that the needle pointed to the south! Desirous to change the subject, I remarked that I concluded he was about to proceed to some high festival, or merry-making, as his dress was completely white. He told me, with a look of much dejection, that his only brother had died the week before, and that he was in the deepest mourning for him. On my landing, the first object that attracted my attention was a military mandarin, who wore an embroidered petti-

debated the point with a vast variety of ges  
at length, without venturing to fight about it,  
and divided the orange equally between the  
At that moment my attention was drawn to  
old Chinese, some of whom had grey be  
nearly all of them huge goggling spectacles  
were chirruping and chuckling to singing-bir  
they carried in bamboo cages, or perched o  
others were catching flies to feed the birds  
mainder of the party seemed to be delightedly  
in flying paper-kites, while a group of boys we  
looking on, and regarding these innocent occ  
of their seniors with the most serious and gra  
tention. . . . . I was resolute in my determi  
persevere, and the next morning found me  
with a Chinese master, who happily underst  
lish. I was fully prepared to be told that I  
to study a language without an alphabet,  
somewhat astonished, on his opening the  
volume, to find him begin at what I had a  
previously considered the end of the book.  
the date of the publication—'The fifth ye  
month, twenty-third day.'—'We arrange

sophy. He re-opened the volume, and read with becoming gravity, 'The most learned men are decidedly of opinion that the seat of the human understanding is the stomach.\*' I seized the volume in despair, and rushed from the apartment."

A festival much honoured by the Chinese, and indicative of their ancient regard for agriculture, is that which takes place when the sun reaches the 15° of Aquarius. The governor of every capital city issues in state towards the eastern gate, to "meet the spring," which is represented by a procession bearing a huge clay figure of the buffalo, called by the Chinese "water bullock" (from its propensity for muddy shallows), which is always used to drag their ploughs through the flooded rice-grounds. The train is attended by litters, on which are borne children fancifully dressed, and decorated with flowers, representing mythological personages; and the whole is accompanied by a band of musicians. When they have reached the governor's house, he delivers a discourse in his capacity of Priest of Spring, recommending the care of husbandry; and, after he has struck the clay buffalo thrice with a whip, the people fall upon it with stones, and break in pieces the image, whose hollow inside is filled with a multitude of smaller images in clay, for which they scramble. This ceremony bears some resemblance to the procession of the bull Apis in ancient Egypt, which was connected in like manner with the labours of agriculture, and the hopes of an abundant season.

The emperor himself, at about the same period of the year, honours the profession of husbandry by going through the ceremony of holding the plough. Accompanied by some princes of the blood, and a selection of the principal ministers, he proceeds to a field set apart for the purpose, in the enclosure which surrounds the Temple of the Earth, where everything has been duly prepared by regular husbandmen in

\* They place it in the heart.

nces.

The same countenance and example w  
emperor affords in person to the producti  
principal materials of *food*, is given by the e  
the cultivation of the mulberry and the rearin  
worms, the sources whence they derive th  
substance for *clothing*, and the care of whic  
most part comes under the female departm  
the ninth moon, the empress proceeds with  
cipal ladies to sacrifice at the altar of the in  
the silk manufacture ; and when that ceremon  
cluded, they collect a quantity of the mulber  
which are devoted to the nourishment of the  
dépôt of silk-worms. Various other proce  
nected with the same business are gone thr  
heating the cocoons in water, winding off the  
&c. ; and so the ceremony concludes. Of th  
" Sacred Edicts " addressed to the people, th  
relates exclusively to the two foregoing su  
" Attend (it is said) to your farms and mulbe  
that you may have sufficient food and clothin  
they are reminded that, although only four of  
vinces (all of them cut by the 30th parallel of

is styled *Keng-che Tbo*, "Illustrations of Husbandry and Weaving," and consists of numerous wood-cuts, presenting the various processes in the production of rice and silk, with letter-press descriptions. The great preference which the rulers of China give to such kinds of industry over the pursuits of commerce, and especially *foreign* commerce, would seem to be dictated by a sentiment analogous to that which is conveyed in four of Goldsmith's lines:—

"That trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay,  
As ocean sweeps the labour'd mole away;  
While self-dependent states can time defy,  
As rocks resist the billows and the sky."

The principal public festivals of China that remain to be noticed are not numerous. The fifth day of the fifth moon, which usually occurs in June, is celebrated in a way which cannot fail to excite the attention of a visitor to Canton. Very long narrow boats, built for the purpose, are manned by forty to sixty, and sometimes eighty men with paddles, who keep time to the beat of a gong, with which one of the crew stands up in the boat. These race against each other on the rivers with great heat and emulation, and accidents frequently occur from the upsetting or breaking of the "dragon-boats," as they are called from their length. This constitutes one of the few athletic sports of the Chinese.

On the first day of the seventh moon, or some time in the month of August, they have a festival for the benefit of their departed relatives in the world of spirits.

It is not a domestic celebration, however, but a public one: large mat-houses are erected, ornamented with lanterns and chandeliers, in which are placed images of the infernal deities, including *Yen*, the Chinese Pluto. Priests of the Budh sect are engaged to chant masses for the dead, offerings of food are presented, and large quantities of paper money and clothes are burned, in order that they may pass *into the other world* for the use of the de-



[Oblations.]

parted. On these occasions may be seen representations of the future state of the Buddhists, torments of the damned, and the various gradations of misery and happiness in the life to come. These celebrations being calculated to bring large numbers of people together, appear to consist in a great measure of feasting and entertainment; and they are said to have arisen from some tradition of a young man who descended down to the nether world to bring back, not only himself but his mother. According to the story, this Alpheus was more successful than the Thracian.

We proceed now to their ordinary usages and intercourse. The importance which the Chinese attach to ceremonies might perhaps be supposed to produce in them a constrained stiffness and affectation of manner; but, notwithstanding the apparent grandeur and solemnity of ceremony prescribed on our embassies have proved that persons of high authority and station are distinguished generally by a dignified simplicity and ease. This does not, however, prevent their laying a great value on precedence, especially on public occasions.

spectators are numerous; and in the case of foreign embassies they will always do their utmost to maintain (as *they* think) the superiority of their own court by placing themselves before their guests. The following extract, from Sir George Staunton's unpublished journal of the last embassy, is in point:—"A message had come from the legate to say that, as the passage of the next sluice on the canal was attended with some risk, the ambassador had better go on shore, and that he should be ready to receive his lordship in a tent on the following morning. To this it was returned for answer, that, if it was proposed to meet on any particular business, the ambassador would attend; but that otherwise he begged to decline it, having observed that the legate always assumed the highest seat, although in his visits to the ambassador the first place had invariably been given to him. Kuáng Tajin replied by saying, that he did this merely because his situation obliged him: word was accordingly sent that his excellency would be glad to meet the *po-ching-see*, or treasurer, whose station did not oblige him to assume the highest seat. In the morning, after breakfast, three chairs arrived for the ambassador and commissioners, and on their way they crossed the sluice, which was to be passed by their boats, over a temporary range of boards. Immediately on the other side stood the tent, a neat structure of coloured cloth in stripes, which we were requested by the attendants to enter, and take our seats. The legate, attended by the treasurer, soon came in, and, after conversing for a short time on their legs, the ambassador requested that Kuáng Tajin would sit down, saying he would waive all claims as a guest to the first place. The legate upon this proceeded to the first seat, and the treasurer, without the least ceremony, walked towards the *second*. On this the ambassador desired it might be intimated, that though he was ready to yield to the one, he would not consent to sit below the other; and the treasurer, rather than take the *third place*, marched out of the tent."

This incivility to Europeans is the more unpardonable, as among themselves it is the rule in general during visits, to contend for the lowest seat, and they would be heartily ashamed of the opposite ill-breeding towards each other; but they view strangers as an inferior caste altogether. Their arm-chairs are always ranged in regular order, and, being very bulky and solid, like our old-fashioned seats of former times they are not easily removed. In Chinese apartment there is placed a broad couch, in size approaching to a bed, called a *káng*. On the middle of this is planted a little table about a foot in height, intended to rest the arm, or place tea-cups upon. On either side of this little table, on the couch, sit the two principal persons, fronting the entrance; and from the ends of the couch, at right angles to it, descend two rows of arm-chairs for the other guests, who sit nearest to the couch according to their rank.\*

When any one proceeds in his chair to pay a visit, his attendants present his ticket at the gate, consisting of his name and titles written down the middle of a folded sheet of red paper, ornamented with gold leaf; and there is sometimes enough paper in these, when opened out like a screen, to extend across a room. If the visitor is in mourning, his ticket is white, with blue letters. According to the relative rank of the parties, the person visited comes out a greater or less distance to receive his guest, and, when they meet their genuflections, and endeavours to prevent the same, are also according to rule. These matters are all so well understood by those who are bred up to them, that they occasion no embarrassment whatever to the Chinese. The ordinary salutation among equals is to join the closed hands, and lift them two or three times towards the head, saying, *Haou—tsing, tsing*; that is, "Are you well?—Hail, hail!" Hence is derived, we believe, the Canton jargon of *chin-chin*.

\* Morrison's Journal, 1816.



being seated, the attendants invariably porcelain cups furnished with covers, in 1, on removing the little saucer by which



[Tea-Cups on Stands.]

ted, appears a small quantity of fine tea which boiling water has been poured ; and they drink the infusion, without the addition of sugar or milk. The delicate aroma of the tea is doubt more clearly distinguished in this way, and a little habit leads many Europeans to relish the custom. Though the cups are usually made in the cup, they occasionally come of antique and tasteful shapes, which are usually made of tutenague externally, covered with a glaze on the inside. At visits, a circular tray is frequently brought in, having ornaments radiating from the centre, in which are placed sweetmeats or dried fruits. These are accompanied by a small two-pronged fork of silver. On the occasion of a visit, the host conducts his guest, and does him high honour, even to his sedan, and remains until he is carried off ; but on ordinary occasions it is deemed sufficient to go as far as the stone steps, if there are any, or merely to the apartment.

Only mandarins, or official persons, can be carried by four bearers, or accompanied by a train of attendants: these are marshalled in two files before the chair. One pair of the myrmidons carry gongs, which they strike at regular intervals; another pair utter, likewise at intervals, a long-drawn shout, rather yell, to denote the approach of the great man. A third pair carry chains, which they jingle in concert, being in fact gaolers or executioners, with high coils of iron wire, in which is stuck a grey feather. Then come two fellows with the usual bamboo, or bastinado, and the cortège is made up by the servants and of followers, some of whom carry red umbrellas of civility, others large red boards, on which are inscribed in gilt characters the officer's titles. The populace who meet such a procession are not to denote their respect in any other way than by standing aside, with their hands hanging close to their sides, and their eyes on the ground. It is only when called or taken before a tribunal, that they are obliged to kneel, and these are occasions which most Chinese are not very willing to see.

English residents at Canton have occasionally opportunities of taking a part in the formal dinners of the Chinese; but few have witnessed a solemn function conferred by the emperor, which may be described from the author's unpublished journal of the last embassy. "The ambassador informed the gentlemen of his suite that he was going to perform the same demonstration of respect, before the yellow screen, that he was accustomed to make to the vacant throne of his sovereign in the House of Lords. We were directed to keep our eyes on him, and do exactly as he did. A low solemn hymn of not unpleasing melody now commenced, and at the voice of a crier, the two imperial legates fell prostrate three times, and each time they struck the floor with their foreheads; a cranio-verberative sound being audible amidst the deep silence which prevailed around. The ambassador and his suite, standing up in the meanwhile, made nine profound bows. Thus far we had got very well over the

ground, without doing that which no representatives of *Chinese* majesty ever condescended to do to a foreigner, until Genghis Khân first *made* them. They here conceded to us the point on which they broke off with Count Golovkin, the Russian ambassador, though they yielded it to Lord Macartney.

"When the ceremony was over, the feast was brought in, and the theatrical entertainments commenced. The legates sat to the left, on an elevation of one step; and the ambassador and two commissioners on the same elevation to the right. The other Chinese grantees sat on the left, a little below the legates; and the gentlemen of the embassy to the right, below his lordship and the commissioners. The two lines thus faced each other down the room. As no chairs can be used where the emperor is present, or supposed to be so, the whole party sat cross-legged on cushions, with sartorial precision; but the mandarins, being bred to the trade, of course had the advantage of us. The tables were low in proportion, and, when we were all seated, a number of attendants placed on each table, holding only two guests, a large tray which fitted it, and contained a complete course, of which four in all were served. The first consisted of a rich soup; the second of sixteen round and narrow dishes, containing salted meats and other relishes; the third of eight basins of birds'-nests, sharks'-fins, deer-sinews, and other viands supposed to be highly nourishing; the fourth of twelve bowls of stews immersed in a rich soup. The guests helped themselves with chop-sticks, small spoons of porcelain, fashioned like a child's pap-bowl, and four-pronged forks of silver, small and straight; and, when they drank to each other, the warm wine was poured into little cups by the attendants, who at the same time bent one knee.

"At the other end of the hall where we sat, so as to be viewed by each person from his place down the two ranges of tables, proceeded the stage performances. The music was infernal, and the occasional *crash* of gongs might have roused Satan and his

legions from their sleep on the sulphureous *la*. Some pyrotechnic monsters, breathing fire and smoke, were among the *dramatis personæ*; but by far the best part of the scene was the tumbling,—really superior in its kind. The strength and activity of one were particularly eminent. Leaping from the ground, he performed a tumble in the air backwards, and after the first effort, continued to revolve in this manner with such velocity, that his head and feet, the extremities of revolution, were scarcely discernible."

An invitation to a private feast is conveyed some days before by a crimson-coloured ticket, on which is inscribed the time appointed, and the guest is entreated to bestow "the illumination of his presence." The arrangement of the tables is the same as at the imperial entertainment, but they are of the ordinary height, and the party are seated on chairs, two at each table, so as to see the performances on the stage. The *tableau* of the dinner is much the same as before described; but previous to its commencement, the host standing up, drinks to his guests, and then invites them to begin upon the dishes before them. At a certain period of the entertainment, towards the close, the whole party rise at once, and drink to their health. Before the dramatic performance begins, one of the actors presents to the principal guest a list of plays consisting perhaps of fifty or sixty different pieces, but they have these so well by heart that they are ready to perform any one he may select. There is much scenery, and, in this respect, a great deal is left to the imagination of the spectators. The dresses, however, are extremely splendid, especially in heroic plays, consisting of representations of different portions of their ancient history. The most objectionable part of the terrible din kept up by the instruments of music and the gongs, during those portions of the play which represent battles and tragical scenes.

The females of the household, meanwhile, who do not take a part in the festivities of the table, look on from behind a trellis-work at one of the sides of the

stage, with such of their friends of the same sex as may be invited on the occasion. A particular description of the Chinese drama will be given in its proper place; but we may observe here that *dancing* is a thing almost entirely unknown to them, either on or off the stage. On one occasion, indeed, in the interval or space between the ranges of tables, we saw two children, showily dressed, go through a species of minuet, consisting of a regular figure to slow time, accompanied by a motion of the arms and head, not ungraceful in effect.

A formal dinner, which begins about six o'clock in the evening, is generally protracted to a great length, the succession of dishes, or rather bowls, which follow each other appearing sometimes to be interminable. So little, however, is eaten of each, that the guests often continue tasting the contents of one after another until the very end. There seems to be little regularity in the timing of the different viands, but after the birds'-nest soup (which is, in fact, a strong chicken broth, in which that substance is introduced in long strips, after the manner of vermicelli) the peculiar delicacies which have already been mentioned, together with mutton, fish, game, and poultry, follow indiscriminately. The signal of the repast approaching its termination is the appearance of a bowl of rice for each person, and this is followed soon after by tea in lieu of the wine. The whole is crowned by a course of fruits and sweetmeats, very much in the manner of our desert.

The greater portion of cups, bowls, and saucers (for they have no flat plates of their own), which constitute the dinner service, consist of fine porcelain; but occasionally a few particular meats are served in silver or tutenague covers, under which is a spirit-lamp to keep them hot. The wine-cups, too, are sometimes of silver gilt, and of rather elegant vase-like shapes. The extreme smallness of these cups, joined to the weakness of the wine, which is always drunk warm, enables them to take a great number without being in

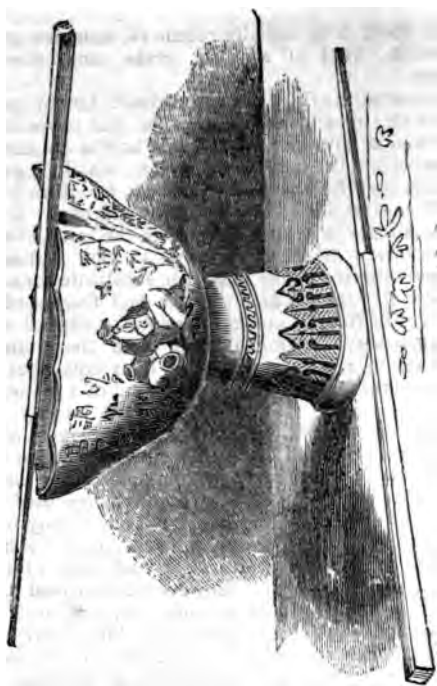
the least affected, or at all exceeding the bound sobriety. On some occasions of peculiar ceremony the feast is closed by a great cup scooped from horn of the rhinoceros, which animal is said to exist in the forests of Yunnan and Kuang-sy. We find in works of Arabian writers that the same substance often been used for the drinking-cups of Asiatic tentates, being supposed to sweat on the approach of poison, and therefore to be a safeguard against it. When the Mongols conquered the empire, they probably introduced its use into China.

The following description of a Chinese dinner, from the pen of our friend Captain Laplace of the French navy, although rather a long extract, is given with much of the characteristic vivacity of his countryman, and so well conveys the *first impression* of a scene often witnessed by Europeans, that it is introduced without further apology. "The first course was out in a great number of saucers of painted porcelain and consisted of various relishes in a cold state: salted earth-worms, prepared and dried, but so cut that I fortunately did not know what they were; I had swallowed them; salted or smoked fish, ham, both of them cut into extremely small slices; besides which, there was what they called *Jé-leather*, a sort of darkish skin, hard and tough, with a strong and far from agreeable taste, and which seemed to have been macerated for some time in water. These et-cæteras, including among the number liquor which I recognised to be soy, made from Japan bean, and long since adopted by the wine-drinkers of Europe to revive their faded appetite, were used as seasoning to a great number of stews which were contained in bowls, and succeeded each other uninterruptedly. All the dishes, with exception, swam in soup. On one side figured pig's eggs, cooked in gravy, together with ducks and fowls cut very small, and immersed in a dark-coloured *sauce*; on the other, little balls made of sharks' fins and eggs prepared by heat, of which both the small and

ste seemed to us equally repulsive, immense grubs, peculiar kind of sea-fish, crabs, and pounded brimps.

"Seated at the right of our excellent Amphytrion, I was the object of his whole attention, but nevertheless found myself considerably at a loss how to use the two little ivory sticks, tipped with silver, which, together with a knife that had a long, narrow, and thin blade, formed the whole of my eating apparatus. I had great difficulty in seizing my prey in the midst of those several bowls filled with gravy: in vain I tried to hold, in imitation of my host, this substitute for a fork between the thumb and the two first fingers of the right hand; for the cursed chop-sticks slipped aside every moment, leaving behind them the unhappy little morsel which I coveted. It is true that the master of the house came to the relief of my inexperience (by which he was much entertained) with his two instruments, the extremities of which, a few moments before, had touched a mouth whence age, and the use of snuff and tobacco, had cruelly chased his good looks. I could very well have dispensed with such an auxiliary, for my stomach had already much ado to support the various ragouts, each one more surprising than another, which I had been obliged, *volens volens*, to taste of. However, I contrived to eat with tolerable propriety a soup prepared with the famous birds'-nests, in which the Chinese are such epicures. The substance thus served up is reduced into very thin filaments, transparent as isinglass, and resembling vermicelli, with little or no taste.\* At first I was much puzzled to find out how, with our chop-sticks, we should be able to taste of the various soups which composed the greater part of the dinner, and had already called to mind the fable of the fox and the stork, when our two Chinese entertainers, dipping at once into the bowls with the little saucer,

\* It is generally accompanied with pigeons' eggs, boiled hard, and eaten with soy.



placed at the side of each guest, showed us how to get rid of the difficulty." We confess we were witness to this slovenly manoeuvre, as the Chinese tables are generally supplied with a species of vessels of silver or porcelain, sufficiently convenient in use.

"To the younger guests, naturally lively, a crowd of novelties presented an inexhaustible field of pleasantry, and, though unintelligible to the Hong merchant and his brother, the jokes were



delight them not a bit the less. The wine in the meanwhile circulated freely, and the toasts followed each other in rapid succession. This liquor, which to my taste was by no means agreeable, is always taken hot, and in this state it approaches pretty nearly to Madeira in colour, as well as a little in taste; but it is not easy to get tipsy with it, for, in spite of the necessity of frequently attending to the invitations of my host, this wine did not in the least affect my head.

We drank it in little gilt cups, having the shape of an antique vase, with two handles of perfect workmanship, and kept constantly filled by attendants holding large silver vessels like coffee-pots. The Chinese mode of pledging is singular enough, but has at the same time some little resemblance to the English. The person who wishes to do this courtesy to one or more guests gives them notice by an attendant; then, taking the full cup with both hands, he lifts it to the level of his mouth, and, after making a comical sign with his head, he drinks off the contents: he waits until the other party has done the same, and finally repeats the first nod of the head, holding the cup downwards before him, to show it is quite empty.

"After all these good things, served one upon the other, and of which it gave me pleasure to see the last, succeeded the second course, which was preceded by a little ceremony, of which the object seemed to be a trial of the guests' appetites. Upon the edges of four bowls, arranged in a square, three others were placed filled with stews, and surmounted by an eighth, which thus formed the summit of a pyramid; and the custom is to touch none of these although invited by the host. On the refusal of the party, the whole disappeared, and the table was covered with articles in pastry and sugar, in the midst of which was a salad composed of the tender shoots of the bamboo, and some watery preparations, that exhaled a most disagreeable odour.

"Up to this point the relishes, of which I first spoke, had been the sole accompaniments of all the succe-

take tea,—the indispensable commencement and of all visits and ceremonies among the Chinese. According to custom, the servants presented it in celain cups, each of which was covered with a sa like top, which confines and prevents the aroma evaporating. The boiling water had been poured a few of the leaves, collected at the bottom of the and the infusion, to which no sugar is ever add China, exhaled a delicious fragrant odour, of the best teas carried to Europe can scarcely give idea."

It is remarkable that the grape, although abundant is not used in this country for the production of which is fermented from rice, but nevertheless resembles some of our weaker white wines both in colour and flavour. The rice is soaked in water, with other ingredients, for a considerable number of days. The liquor is then boiled, after which it is allowed to ferment, and subsequently drawn off clear from the bottom, to be put up in earthen jars, not unlike the amphoræ of the ancients still remaining to us. The residue is used in the distillation of a very strong spirit, little inferior in strength to pure alcohol, which they sometimes introduce in an extremely small quantity at the close of their dinners. When good, it resembles strong whiskey, both in its colourless appearance and its smoky flavour. The Tartars are said still to preserve a remnant of their pastoral state, in their predilection for a strong liquor which is distilled from mutton. One of the soups, too, presented at the perial feast conferred on the last British embassy at Tien-tsin, was said to be composed of mare's milk and blood!

The Chinese are little addicted to drinking pure water, which, in a considerable portion of the country is extremely bad. On the Peking river, several of the persons in the embassies suffered severely from dysentery, by which they were afflicted with dysenteries and other unpleasant symptoms. It was generally of a milky colour, and though cleared in some measure

being stirred with a bamboo, in the cleft of which a piece of alum had been stuck as a precipitate, it always retained a portion of its noxious qualities. It may fairly be surmised that the badness of the water occasioned the first introduction, and subsequently the universal use, of tea as an article of drink. Notwithstanding their general repugnance to eating and drinking what is cold, none understand better than the Chinese of the north the use of ice during hot weather. Near to Peking, in the month of August, and when the thermometer stood above 80°, we constantly saw people carrying about supplies of this article of luxury. Two large lumps, whose solid thickness proved the lowness of the temperature which produced them, were suspended in shallow baskets at opposite ends of a pole, carried across the shoulders. Every vender of fruit at a stall either sold it in lumps, or used it in cooling his goods; and the embassy was liberally supplied with ice for cooling wine. The mode of preserving it through the summer is the usual one, of depositing the ice at a sufficient depth in the ground, surrounding it with straw or other non-conducting substance, and shading off the wet.

The Chinese cookery has a much nearer resemblance to the French than the English, in the general use of ragouts and made-dishes, rather than plain articles of diet, as well as in the liberal introduction of vegetables into every preparation of meat. The expenses of the wealthy, as might be expected, run very much in the direction of sensual pleasures, among which the gastronomic hold a conspicuous place. Some of the articles, however, which they esteem as delicacies would have few attractions for a European. Among others, the larvæ of the sphinx-moth, as well as a grub which is bred in the sugar-cane, are much relished. Their dishes are frequently cooked with the oil extracted from the *ricinus*, which yields the castor-oil of medicine; but as it is used by them in the fresh state, and with some peculiar preparation, it has neither the

strong detergent properties nor the detestable by which this oil is known in Europe.

The general prevalence of Buddhism among the population is perhaps one of the reasons that beef is scarcely ever used by them; though the multitude of bullocks killed annually, for the use of the European shipping, prove that their religious scruples can be very strong. It must, however, be observed, that some absurd prejudices and maxims, not to say positive laws, have always existed against an extensive consumption of flesh food. There are, accordingly, no people in the world that consume so little butcher's meat, or so much fish and vegetables. The rivers and coasts of this country are profusely productive of fish, and the people exercise the greatest ingenuity in catching them. Carp and mullet were observed on the last embassy in all the towns bordering on the route from Peking. It would be a mistake to suppose that the extension of cultivation had rendered game scarce. There are abundance of wooded hills and mountains, as well as lakes, about which wild pheasants, red-legged partridges, and snipes, are plentiful. Wild geese are seen on the Canton river during winter in large flocks, as well as teal and ducks; and the woodcock is sometimes, though rarely, to be procured.

The most universal vegetable food in the empire, next to rice, is the *Pě-tsae*, a species of brassica, which derives its name (white cabbage) from being partially blanched, as celery is with us. By our embassy it was frequently used as a salad, and when fresh, is inferior to lettuce, which it greatly resembles in appearance. The most celebrated place for its production is the neighbourhood of Tien-tsin, where the soil is loose sandy alluvium. From thence it is conveyed either in the fresh state or salted, to all parts of the country. They are said to preserve it fresh, either by planting in wet sand, or by burying it deep in the ground; and it is a popular remark, that the

ates of Peking are blocked during the autumnal season with the vehicles bringing in the pē-tsae. Besides this vegetable, the northern provinces consume millet and the oil of sesamum, as general articles of diet. Many of the cottagers were observed to possess the means of independent support, in the patches of cultivation which surrounded their huts, being supplied in many cases with a small and simple mill, worked by an ass, for the expression of the sesamum oil. The vegetable oils which are used to the southward are obtained from the *Camellia oleifera*, and the *Arachis hypogæa*, as well as the *Ricinus*.

As the embassies approached the south, the most common vegetables in use appeared to be the *Solanum melongena*, several species of gourds and cucumbers, the sweet potato, and one or two species of kidney-bean, of which in some cases they boil the young plants. Peas, too, which were introduced by the Dutch factory for their own use, appear sometimes at Chinese dinners in stews, being generally eaten in the pod, while this is young and tender. Near Macao the potato has become very common, but it does not spread so rapidly as might have been expected; for, after twenty years since its first introduction, this vegetable is far from being either plentiful or cheap at Canton, only eighty miles distant from the former place. Nothing, indeed, will ever supersede rice as the staple article of diet among the Chinese populace, whose predilection for it may be gathered from what Mr. Gutzlaff says in his journal: "Rice being very cheap in Siam, every (Chinese) sailor had provided a bag or two as a present to his family. In fact, the chief thing they wish and work for is rice: their domestic accounts are entirely regulated by the quantity of rice consumed; their meals according to the number of bowls of it boiled; and their exertions according to the quantity wanted. Every substitute to this favourite food is considered meagre, and indicative of the greatest wretchedness. When they cannot obtain a sufficient quantity to satisfy their appe-

rites, they supply the deficiency with an equivalent of water.\* Inquiring whether the westerns eat rice, and finding me slow to give them an answer they exclaimed, 'Oh! the sterile regions of the west which produce not the necessaries of life. It is probable that the inhabitants have not long ago died of hunger. I endeavoured to show them that we had superior rice for rice which were equal, if not superior to all to no purpose; and they still maintained that rice only which can properly sustain the human being.'

If the rich should appear to be fantastic in their selection of their diet, the poor are no less indiscreet in the supply of theirs. They will, in fact, eat everything that comes in their way; and, with the exception of half of the prejudices of the Hindoos, a large portion of the Chinese population would perish with hunger. They make no difficulty whatever of dogs, cats, even rats; and indeed the first of these are employed as a regular article of food in one of their cook-books. Among the rich themselves, a wild boar, previously prepared by feeding, is reckoned a delicacy. Chinese dogs are said to have a particular aversion to butchers, in consequence, no doubt, of the fact that of those personal exemptions and privileges which the canine race are allowed to enjoy almost everywhere else.

As might be expected from the economic habits of the people, that great save-all, the pig, is universally reared about cottages, and its flesh is the commonest meat: the maxim is, "that a scholar should not quit his books, nor the poor man his pig." It may be true that the frequent use of pork produces leprosy (*"cui id animal obnoxium,"* says the Chinese), the Chinese would go far to corroborate the observation, being very subject to that disease as other cutaneous affections; but it must be remembered at the same time, that their foul-feeding is

\* Making a sort of gruel of the rice.

contrive to rear ducks very cheaply, by making them hunt for their own food. Large quantities of the ducks are hatched artificially, and the ducks brought by thousands in peculiar boats, where their lodgings are constructed upon broad platforms, extending far out the sides of the boat. In this manner they are conveyed to different parts of the rivers, and sent out to seek their food upon the muddy banks and shoals. So well disciplined are these birds, that, at a given signal, they follow their leaders with perfect regularity up the inclined board, by which they return to their habitation on the close of the day's working. The flesh is preserved by the bodies of the ducks being split open, flattened, and salted, and in this condition exposed to the dry northerly winds during the cold months.

The consumption of salted provisions is very general, and enables the government to draw a large revenue from the *gabelle* which it levies on salt. In consequence of the immense quantities of both sea and river fish which are daily caught, and the rapid decayable nature of that species of provision, a considerable portion is cured with salt, and dried in the manner the *haut goût* which generally accompanies it is rather a recommendation to the taste of the people. Indeed, it is one of their most favourite as well as universal articles of food; and they even overcame their prejudice or indifference for whatever is foreign, on the occasion of salted cod being introduced for two or three years in English ships; the somewhat decayed condition in which it reached China being said to have been anything but a drawback. This species of food, however, besides its disagreeable nature, and its injurious effect which it might have on more delicate articles of shipment, was found during the long voyage to breed a peculiar insect, which, from the swarms with which it bored into the planks and timbers of a ship, was considered as dangerous, and accordingly the import was greatly discontinued. The middling and poorer classes are amply accom-

modated with taverns and eating-houses, a very small sum, a hot breakfast or dinner obtained in a moment. There are some favours of these at Canton, to the west of the river built up to the height of two stories, and close to the river. Such is the jealous inhospitable local government, or rather of the Hong (who have charge of foreigners), that these taverns are strictly prohibited from Europeans; and they have often refused from those who wished to try the entertainment they afforded. Such of the Chinese of residence have not their families at Canton, frequent these places in the evening, where they are provided with a comfortable dinner; and about the hour of sunset the whole range is seen gaily through its several stories.

The public-houses for the poorer people rarely open sheds, and on particular festivals consist of a temporary structure of matting, with a floor, fitted up with tables and benches, and the means of gambling and drinking to the amusement of the lowest class. To the credit of the Chinese, as a nation, it must be stated that in the opinion which this description of persons bears on the numerous population is not large. The sea-habitants of Canton and Fokien are perhaps the worst. The dangerous profession of sailors, and their unsettled, wandering habit, together to give them the reckless and intemperate character which is often found attached to the lower grades of the maritime profession in other parts of the world. Mr. Gutzlaff has drawn a very revolting picture of sailors who navigate the Chinese junks, and he counts is no doubt in the main quite correct. It must be observed, in general, of the gentleman of the profession, both Catholics and Protestants, that they are accustomed habitually to view the heathen almost exclusively on the side of their spiritual wants, and sometimes drawn rather too unfavourable a

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their moral character. This, however, is more true of many others than of Mr. Gutzlaff, whose candour has occasionally done fair justice to the inhabitants of the Chinese empire, on the score of their good qualities.

Though the lowest orders are certainly very prone to gambling, this is a vice which is chiefly confined to them. So much infamy attaches to the practice in any official or respectable station, and the law in such cases is so severe, that the better classes are happily exempt from it. This seems to be a point on which the *liberty* of the subject may in any community (where public opinion is ineffectual) be unceremoniously violated, very much to its own benefit, since true liberty consists in the power to do everything except that which is plainly opposed to the general good. Those laudable inventions, dice, cards, and dominoes, are all of them known to the Chinese. Their cards are small pieces of pasteboard, about two inches long, and an inch broad, with black and red characters on the faces. The idle and dissolute sometimes train quails for fighting, as the Malays do cocks; and even a species of cricket is occasionally made subservient to this cruel purpose.\* The Chinese chess differs in board, men, and moves, from that of India, and cannot in any way be identified with it, except as being a game of skill, and not of chance.

They have two contrivances for the promotion of drinking at their merry-meetings. One of these, called *Tsoey-moey*, consists in each person guessing at the number of fingers suddenly held up between himself and his adversary, and the penalty of the loser is each time to drink a cup of wine. In still calm evenings, during the continuance of the Chinese festivals, the yells of the common people engaged at this tipsy sport are sometimes heard to drown all other noises. It is precisely the same as the game of *morra*, common among the lower orders in Italy at the pre-

\* Two of them are placed together in a bowl, and irritated until they tear each other to pieces.

sent day, and derived by them from the Roman sport of "*micare digitis*," of which Cicero remarked, that "you must have great faith in the honesty of any man with whom you played in the dark;"—" *multa fide opus est, ut cum aliquo in tenebris mices*." The other festive game is a handsome bouquet of choice flowers, to be circulated quickly from hand to hand among the guests, while a rapid roll is kept up on a kettle-drum in an adjoining apartment. Whoever may chance to hold the flowers at the instant the drum stops, pays forfeit by drinking a cup of wine. It may be easily imagined that this rational amusement, at which the author (proh pudor!) has, more than once assisted, occasionally gives rise to scenes worthy of Sir Toad and his associates in Twelfth Night.

In lieu of theatrical entertainments at their dinners, conjuring, sleight of hand, and other species of dexterity, are sometimes introduced for the diversion of the assembly. The conjurer has always an accomplice, as usual, who serves to distract the attention of the spectators. One of their best exhibitions of manual dexterity is where a common China saucer is spun on its bottom upon the end of a rattan cane, in a very surprising manner. The rapid revolution communicated to the saucer by the motion of the performer's wrist, through the medium of the flexible and elastic rattan, keeps it whirling round without falling, even though the cane is occasionally held nearly horizontally, and sometimes passed behind the back or under the legs of the exhibitor. It may be observed, that the cup is seldom in danger of falling, except for the moment when the eye of the performer may be taken off from it.

Among their out-of-door amusements, a very common one is to play at shuttlecock with the feet. A circle of some half-a-dozen keep up in this manner the game between them with considerable dexterity, the thick soles of their shoes serving them in lieu of *battledores*, and the hand being allowed occasionally to assist. In kite-flying the Chinese certainly exc



[Chinese Juggler.]

lothers, both in the various construction of their  
 tes, and the heights to which they make them rise.  
 ey have a very thin, as well as tough, sort of paper  
 ade of refuse silk, which, in combination with the  
 fit bamboo, is excellently adapted to the purpose.  
 he kites are made to assume every possible shape ;  
 d, at some distance, it is impossible occasionally to  
 tinguish them from real birds. By means of round  
 les, supplied with vibrating cords or other substances,  
 ey contrive to produce a loud humming noise, some-  
 ing like that of a top, occasioned by the rapid pass-  
 e of the air as it is opposed to the kite. At a par-  
 ticular season of the year, not only boys, but grown

men, take a part in this amusement, and the sport sometimes consists in trying to bring each other's kites down by dividing the strings.

The taste of the Chinese court in its amusements was observed by the several embassies to be nearly as puerile as that of most other Asiatics. Farces, tumbling, and fireworks were the usual diversions with which the emperor and his guests were regaled. Two of the sovereigns of this Tartar dynasty, K'ang-hy and Kien-loong, maintained the hardy and warlike habits of the Manchows by frequent hunting expeditions to the northward of the Great Wall. They proceeded at the head of a little army, by which the game was enclosed in rings, and thus exposed to the skill of the emperor and his grandees. We find from Père Gerbillon's account of his hunting expedition with K'ang-hy, that a portion of the train consisted of falconers, each of whom had the charge of a single bird. The personal skill and prowess of K'ang-hy appear to have been considerable, and we have the following description from Gerbillon of the death of a large bear:—"This animal being heavy and unable to run for any length of time, he stopped on the declivity of a hill, and the emperor standing on the side of the opposite hill, shot him at leisure, and with the first arrow pierced his side with a deadly wound. When the animal found himself hurt, he gave a dreadful roar, and turned his head with fury towards the arrow that stuck in his belly. In the endeavour to pull it out, he broke it short, and then, running a few paces farther, he stopped exhausted. The emperor, upon this, alighting from his horse, took a half-pike, used by the Manchows against tigers, and, accompanied by four of the ablest hunters armed in the same way, he approached the bear and killed him outright with a stab of his half-pike."

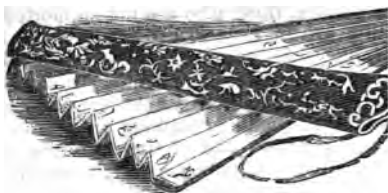
The amusements of the emperor's court on the ice, during the severe winters of Peking, are thus given by Van Braam, who was one of the Dutch mission which proceeded from Canton soon after Lord Macartney's

embassy:—"The emperor made his appearance on a sort of sledge, supported by the figures of four dragons. This machine was moved about by several mandarins, some dragging before, and others pushing behind. The four principal ministers of state were also drawn upon the ice in their sledges by inferior mandarins. Whole troops of civil and military officers soon appeared, some on sledges, some on skates, and others playing at football on the ice, and he that picked up the ball was rewarded by the emperor. The ball was then hung up in a kind of arch, and several mandarins shot at it in passing on skates, with their bows and arrows. Their skates were cut off short under the heel, and the fore part was turned up at right angles." These diversions are quite in the spirit of the Tartars, whose original habits were strongly opposed to those of the quiet and effeminate Chinese. However robust and athletic the labouring classes in the southern provinces of the empire, those who are not supported by bodily exertion are in general extremely feeble and inactive. Unlike the European gentry, they seldom mount on a horse, if not of the military profession; and as nobody who can afford a chair ever moves in any other way, the benefits of walking are also lost to them. Nothing surprises one of these Chinese gentlemen more than the voluntary exertion which Europeans impose on themselves for the sake of health as well as amusement. Much of this inactivity of habit must of course be attributed to the great heat of the climate during a considerable portion of the year; and they would be greater sufferers from their sedentary lives, were it not for the beneficial custom of living entirely in the *open air*, with warm clothing, during even the winter months—that is, in the south; for to the northward, the extreme cold compels them to resort to their stoves and flues, with closed windows and doors. The apartments of houses at Canton are always built quite open to the south, though defended from the bleak northerly winds by windows of oyster-shells or *glass*.

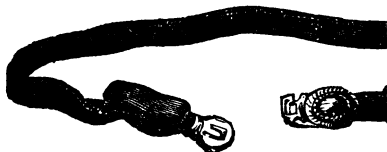
## CHAPTER X.

### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—(*continu*

"WHEN dressed, every Chinese of any s by his side a variety of accoutrements, v strike a stranger as being of a warlike ch which prove, on examination, to be very pendages. A worked silk sheath encloses small leather bag, not unlike a cartouc pended to the belt, supplies flint and steel



[Fan and Case.]



[The Belt.]

the pipe ; and the tobacco is carried in an e purse or pouch." Dr. Abel thus describes ance of the first well-dressed Chinese w



[The Purse.]

on reaching the shores of the Yellow Sea. Arms are, in fact, never worn on the person except by soldiers at parade; and even the military mandarins do not wear swords on ordinary occasions of ceremony. The common people are not allowed to be seen with arms except for specific purposes of self-protection, as when carrying off their property from a fire, or for a defence against river pirates and the like.

The possession of *fire-arms* is altogether forbidden by the jealous government, as may be seen from the following extract from a Peking gazette:—"For the people to have fire-arms in their possession is contrary to law, and orders have already been issued to each provincial government to fix a period within which all matchlocks belonging to individuals should be bought up at a valuation. . . . With regard to those fire-arms which are in immediate use for the safeguard of the country, the said governor has already directed the proper officers to carve on every match-

ment to others." Those Chinese near Cant employ themselves in shooting wild fowl for said to belong mostly to the militia of the pro

The extremes of heat and cold which throughout the country at opposite seasons year, joined to the general custom of living ver in the open air, are the causes which have p given rise to the broad and marked distinctio exist between the summer and the winter dres better classes. The difference is principally by the cap. The summer cap is a cone of finely filaments of bamboo, or a substance resembling and surmounted, in persons of any rank, by blue, white, or gilded ball at the apex or point cone. From the insertion of this ornamental descends all around, over the cap, a fringe or bunch of crimson silk or of red horse-hair; in the cap is sometimes worn a single large pearl

The winter cap, instead of being a cone, fit to the shape of the head, and has a brim, sharply up all round, of black velvet, or fur, and a little higher in front and behind than at th The dome-shaped top is surmounted by the sa





[Summer and Winter Caps.]

the signal for every man under his government  
to the same change. In the embassy of 1816,  
perial legate who conducted the mission down

to Canton, being for the time superior in rank to the viceroy, in this manner put on his winter cap, and gave the example to the province through which he was passing. Within doors they usually wear, in cold weather, a small skull-cap, either plain or ornamented.

The summer garment of the better classes is a long loose gown of light silk, gauze, or linen, hanging free at ordinary times, but on occasions of dress gathered in round the middle by a girdle of strong wrought silk, which is fastened in front by a clasp of agate, or of the *jade*, which the Chinese call *yu*. In an oppressive climate, when the thermometer is at 80° or 90°, there is much ease and comfort in the loose sleeves, and the freedom from restraint about the neck, by which this dress is distinguished; and the tight sleeves with the huge collars and stocks of Europeans very naturally make them objects of compassion, if not ridicule. To the girdle are fastened the various articles noticed by Dr. Abel, as the fan-case, tobacco-pouch, flint and steel, and sometimes a sheath with a small knife and a pair of chop-sticks. They are very proud of displaying a watch, which is inserted in an embroidered silk case or pouch.

The winter dress, being nearly as loose as that of summer, is less calculated to promote warmth and comfort than the European costume, and at the same time more unfavourable to bodily activity and exertion. Over a longer dress of silk or crape, which reaches to the ankles, they wear a large-sleeved spencer, called *ma-hwa* (or riding-coat), which does not descend below the hips. This is often entirely of fur, but sometimes of silk or broad-cloth, lined with skins. The neck, which in summer is left quite bare, is protected in winter with a narrow collar of silk or fur; their loose dresses always fold over to the right breast, where they are fastened from top to bottom, at intervals of a few inches, by gilt or crystal buttons (the latter in mourning) with loops.

In summer the nether garment is loose, and not unlike ancient Dutch breeches; but in winter an in-



[Chinese Fop and Servant. From Chinese Paintings.]

e pair of tight leggings are drawn on separately, and fastened up to the sides of the voluminous article of dress above, to hang out behind, in a manner that is but pleasant. Stockings of cotton or silk, not knit, are worn by all who can afford it, in winter, persons of a certain rank wear cloth, satin, or velvet, with the usual thick sole, which is kept clean by *whiting* instead of the usual style of contrariety to our custom, the thick soles of their boots and shoes in all cases arose from the circumstance of their not using such a substance as *well-tanned leather*, a quantity of which is sufficient to exclude the wet.

The shoes made for Europeans at Canton are perfect useless in rainy weather, and spoiled on the very first wetting.



[Men's Shoes.]

The Chinese dresses of ceremony are exceeding rich and handsome, and contrast to great advantage with the queer unmeaning capings and skirtings of our coats. The colour of the spencer is usually dark blue, or purple, and the long dress beneath is commonly of some lighter and gayer hue. On state occasions this last is very splendidly embroidered with dragons or other devices, in silk and gold, and the cost amounts frequently to large sums. At the imperial feast of which the last embassy partook at Peking, the crowd of mandarins in full dress, surmounted by their crimson caps and various-coloured balls, certainly produced a striking effect.

The great sin of the Chinese costume is the paucity of white linen, and consequently of washing. Even their body-garment is sometimes a species of light silk, but capable of purification. All the rest of the dress being of silks or furs, there is less demand for white calico or linen, in proportion to the number than in any other country. They spread neither sheets upon their beds nor cloths on their tables, and the want of personal cleanliness has of course a tendency to promote cutaneous and leprous complaint

Their substitute for soap is an alkaline ley, derived from a mineral substance, and rather corrosive in its nature.

The skins of all animals are converted into apparel for the winter. The lower orders use those of sheep, cats, dogs, goats, and squirrels. Even rat and mouse skins are sewn together for garments. The expensive fur dresses of the higher orders descend from father to son, and form sometimes no inconsiderable portion of the family inheritance. At an entertainment in Canton, where the party, according to the custom of the country, were seated in an open room without fires, the European guests began to complain of cold; upon which the host immediately accommodated the whole number of ten or twelve with handsome wide-sleeved spencers, all of the most costly furs, telling them at the same time that he had plenty more in reserve. They have one singular species of refinement on the score of skins. The young lamb *in utero*, after a certain period of gestation, is taken out, and its skin prepared with the fine silky wool upon it for dresses, which of course require, on account of their small size, a great number of lambs to be thus "untimely ripped," and the luxury is therefore an expensive one.

The Chinese, perhaps, may be said to possess an advantage in the absence of those perpetual and frequently absurd mutations of fashion in Europe, which at one period blow out the same individual like a balloon, whom at another they contract into a mummy; and which are frequently ridiculed and followed in excess at one and the same time. They are not at the mercy and disposal, in matters of taste, of those who make their clothes, and their modes generally last as long as their garments. The human shape and dress are not varied with the infinite mutations of a kaleidoscope; and that peculiar, though indisputable species of merit, "being in the height of the fashion," the honours of which must be chiefly shared with the tailor and the milliner, is nearly unknown to them.

The only *setter of fashions* is the Board of Rites and

Ceremonies at Peking, and to depart materially from their ordinances would be considered as something worse than mere *mauvais ton*. It is their business only to prescribe the forms on all occasions of war or of ceremony, but the costumes which are to be worn must be in strict conformity to rule. The dresses of all ranks and orders, and of both sexes about the imperial palace, are specified, as regards colour, and material, with as much precision as in a court of Europe. From the Tartar religion of the Lamas, the rosary of 108 beads has become a part of the ceremonial dress attached to the nine grades of official rank. It consists of a necklace of stones and coral nearly as large as a pigeon's egg, descending to the waist, and distinguished by various beads according to the quality of the wearer. There is a small rosary of only eighteen beads, of inferior size, with which the bonzes count their prayers and ejaculation exactly as in the Roman Catholic ritual. The laity in China sometimes wear this at the waist, perfume it with musk, and give it the name of *Heang-choo*, "fragrant beads."

The various appendages worn at the girdle, as the purse or pouch, the steel and flint case for lighting the pipe, the watch-case, &c., are generally of the finest silk embroidery, which forms one of the principal accomplishments of Chinese ladies. Indeed all the handsome crape shawls taken to England, some of which cost from sixty to eighty dollars, are entirely the work of women, many of whom earn more than twenty dollars a month by their labour. A Chinese is seldom seen without his snuff-bottle, which is of oval construction, and less than two inches in length, the stopper having a small spoon attached, similar to that for cayenne-pepper, with which a portion of snuff is laid on the left hand, at the lower joint of the thumb, and thus lifted to the nose. The material of these bottles is sometimes of porcelain, or of variegated glass, carved with considerable skill in the style of *cameos*; or of rock-crystal, with small figures or

writing on the *inside*, performed in a manner which it is not easy to account for.

Among the presents sent to, or, in the language of Peking diplomacy, *conferred upon* foreign sovereigns, is the embroidered silk purse, one of which the old Emperor Kien-loong took from his side and gave to the youth who officiated as page to Lord Macartney. This, however, was of the imperial yellow colour, with the five-clawed dragon, and could hardly be worn by Chinese subjects, who always displayed the most profound reverence and admiration when they saw it, and knew it was from the great emperor's own person. The ornament which has sometimes, for want of a better name, been called a *sceptre*, is, in fact, an emblem of amity and good will, of a shape less bent than the letter S, about eighteen inches in length, and cut from the *jade* or *yu* stone. It is called *joo-ee*, "as you wish," and is simply exchanged as a costly mark of friendship; but that it had a religious origin seems indicated by the sacred flower of the lotus (*Nymphaea nelumbo*) being generally carved on the superior end.

The Chinese have some singular modes of demonstrating their respect and regard on the departure of any public magistrate whose government has been marked by moderation and justice. A deputation sometimes waits on him with a habit composed of every variety of colour, "a coat of many colours," as if made by a general contribution from the people. With this he is solemnly invested, and, though of course the garment is not intended to be worn, it is preserved as an honourable relic in the family. On quitting the district, he is accompanied by the crowds that follow his chair, or kneel by the way-side, while at intervals on the road are placed tables of provisions and sticks of incense burning. These honours were shown to a late Fooyuen of Canton, a man of a most eccentric but upright character, who, unlike so many others in his situation, would never take anything from the Hong merchants or others under his authority. *He seemed to have a supreme indifference for*





in grandeur, and at length retired by his own  
e, and the emperor's permission, into private life,  
whence it is said he became a devotee of Budh.  
is quitting Canton, a very singular ceremony was  
ved in conformity with ancient Chinese usage  
uch rare occasions; when he had accepted the  
is demonstrations of homage and respect from  
who had been deputed by the people to wait on  
he proceeded from his residence towards the  
ates, and, being there arrived, his *boots* were  
off, to be preserved as a valued relic, while  
place was supplied by a new pair. This was  
ted more than once as he proceeded on his way,  
oots which he had only once drawn on being re-  
ed as precious memorials. The conduct of the  
r magistrates cannot fail to be influenced some-  
by the ambition of earning such popular honours,  
here can be little doubt that, in places less ex-  
l to the contagion of vice and temptation than  
on, there are good magistrates in China as well as  
here.

it to return to costumes. The head of the men,  
s have before noticed, is invariably shaven, ex-  
at the top, whence the tail depends in conformity  
the Tartar custom; the only change being in  
ring, when the hair is allowed to grow. The  
ess having so little beard, the principal work for  
razor is on the head, and consequently no person  
shaves himself. The great number of barbers is  
iking feature in all towns, and sufficiently ex-  
ined by the prevailing custom. They exercise the  
itional function of shampooing, which, with the  
cedent shave, occupies altogether a considerable  
e. Every barber carries about with him, slung from  
ick across his shoulder, all the instruments of his  
ation in a compendious form. On one side hangs  
tool, under which are drawers containing his in-  
uments; and this is counterpoised at the other end  
a small charcoal furnace under a vessel of water  
ich it *serves to heat*. Their razors are extremely

clumsy in appearance, but very keen and efficie use. It is not the custom for the men to wear staches before forty years of age, nor beards b sixty. These generally grow in thin tufts, and only in a few individuals that they assume the t appearance observable in other Asiatics.

The women would frequently be very pretty, it not for the shocking custom of daubing their with white and red paint, to which may be adde deformity of cramped feet. In point of health, ever, this is in a great degree made up by the absence of tight lacing, and of all ligatures and finements whatever about the vital parts. The sequence is that their children are born very str limbed, and births are scarcely ever attended disaster. Their dress is extremely modest and coming, and, in the higher classes, as splendid a most exquisite silks and embroidery can make it the Chinese certainly reserve the best of their manufactures for themselves. What we often ch to call *dress* they would regard as absolute nu and all close fitting to the shape as only displa what it affects to conceal.

Unmarried women wear their hair hanging dov long tresses, and the putting up of the hair is o the ceremonies preparatory to marriage. It is twi up towards the back of the head, ornamented flowers or jewels, and fastened with two bodkins s in crosswise. They sometimes wear an ornamen presenting the foong-hâng, or Chinese phoenix, c posed of gold and jewels, the wings hovering, and beak of the bird hanging over the forehead, or elastic spring. After a certain time of life, the wo wear a silk wrapper round the head in lieu of other dress. The eyebrows of the young women fashioned until they represent a fine curved line, w is compared to the new moon when only a day or old, or to the young leaflet of the willow.

*Pink* and green, two colours often worn by won are confined exclusively to them, and never seen

men. The ordinary dress is a large-sleeved robe of silk, or of cotton among the poorer sort, over a longer garment, sometimes of a pink colour; under which are loose trousers which are fastened round the ankle, just above the small foot and tight shoe. A proverbial expression among the Chinese for the concealment of defects is—"long robes to hide large feet." Notwithstanding this the Tartar women, or their lords, have had the good sense to preserve the ladies' feet of the natural size. In other respects, however, they dress nearly as the Chinese, and paint their faces white and red in the same style.

The ordinary dress of men among the labouring classes is extremely well suited to give full play to the



[Husbandman.]

body: it consists in summer of only a pair of loose cotton trousers tied round the middle, and a shirt or smock, equally loose, hanging over it. In very hot weather the smock is thrown off altogether, and only the trousers retained. They defend the head from the sun by a very broad umbrella-shaped hat of bamboo slips interwoven, which in winter is exchanged for a felt

rap; and in rainy weather they have cloaks of a  
cies of flags or reeds, from which the water run  
from a pent-house. A large portion of the peasa  
wear no shoes, but some are furnished, particu  
those who carry heavy burdens, with sandals of s  
to protect the feet.

In describing the dwellings of the Chinese, we  
observe that, in their ordinary plan, they bear a cu  
resemblance to the remains of the Roman habita  
disinterred from the scoræ and ashes of Pom  
They consist usually of a ground floor, divided  
several apartments within the dead wall that fi  
the street, and lit only by windows looking into  
internal court-yard. The principal room, next to  
entrance, serves to receive visitors as well as for  
ing; and within are the more private apartments.  
doorways of which are screened by pendent curt  
of silk or cotton. Near Peking, the embassies fo  
most of the apartments furnished with a couch or  
place of brickwork, having a furnace below to w  
it during the winter. This was usually covered  
a felt rug or mat, which, with the assistance of  
warmth, gave perpetual lodging to swarms of ver  
and rendered the bed-places quite unavailable to  
English travellers. These fires, however, are  
necessary during the severe winters, when the fire  
the better houses are lit on the outside; but in po  
ones the furnace is within, and serves the double  
pose of cooking and warmth, the whole family  
doling round it.

All houses of consequence are entered by a tr  
gateway, consisting of one large folding-door in  
centre, and of a smaller one on either side. Th  
last serve for ordinary occasions, while the fir  
thrown open for the reception of distinguished gu  
Large lanterns of a cylindrical shape are hung at  
sides, on which are inscribed the name and title  
the inhabitant of the mansion, so as to be read eit  
by day, or at night when the lanterns are lit. I  
within the gates is the covered court, where the sed

lands, surrounded by red varnished label-boards, inscribed in gilt characters the full titles of person of rank and consequence. We cannot describe one of their larger mansions than in the of Sir George Staunton :—" This palace was on the general model of the dwellings of great kings. The whole enclosure was in the form of a parallelogram, and surrounded by a high brick wall, one side of which exhibited a plain blank surface, near one of its angles, where the gateway into a narrow street, little promising the hand-structures within. The wall in its whole supported the upper ridge of the roof, whose eaves, resting upon an interior wall parallel to it, formed a long range of buildings divided into apartments for servants, and offices. The rest of the enclosure was subdivided into several quadrangles of different sizes. In each quadrangle were raised upon platforms of granite, and surrounded by a colonnade. The columns were of wood, nearly six feet in height, and as many inches in diameter at the lower end, decreasing to the upper extremity to one-sixth. They had neither capital nor base, agreeing to the strict meaning of those terms in the Grecian architecture, nor any divisions of the entablature, being plain to the very top which supports the cornice; and were without balustrade at the lower end, where they were let into sockets cut into stones for their reception, and which formed a circular ring round each, somewhat in the manner of a column. Between the columns, for about one-fourth of the length of the shaft from the cornice downwards, was carved and ornamented wood-work, which might be termed the entablature, and was of a different colour from the columns, which were universal. This colonnade served to support that part of the roof which projected beyond the wall-plate in a turning up at the angles. By means of such

\* *Embassy*, vol. ii. p. 189.

roofed colonnades every part of those extensive  
ings might be visited under cover. The num  
pillars throughout the whole was not fewer th  
hundred.

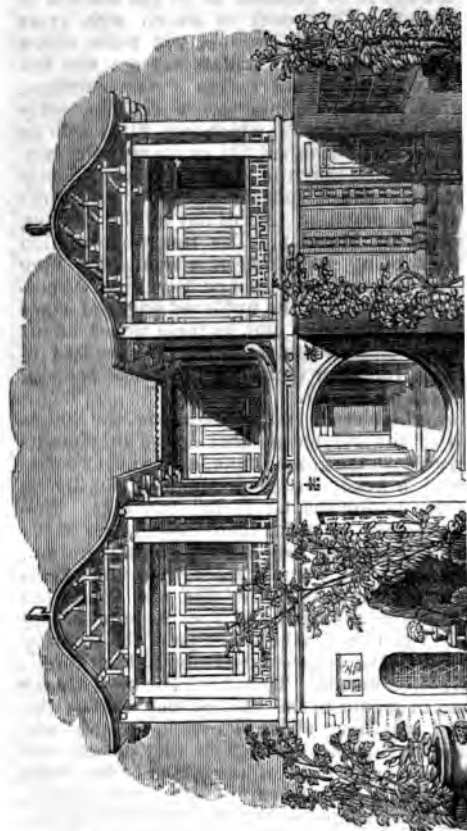
"Annexed to the principal apartment, now de  
for the ambassador, was an elevated building, in  
for the purposes of a private theatre and concert  
with retiring apartments behind, and a galle  
spectators round it. None of the buildings were  
one story, except that which comprised the  
apartments during the residence of the owner :  
situated in the inmost quadrangle. The fron  
sisted of one long and lofty hall, with windows o  
paper, through which no object could be disting  
on the other side. On the back of this hall w  
ried a gallery, at the height of about ten feet,  
led to several small rooms, lighted only fro  
hall. Those inner windows were of silk gauze, str  
on frames of wood, and worked with the ne  
flowers, fruit, birds, and insects, and others pai  
water-colours. This apartment was fitted in a  
style, though upon a smaller scale, than most  
others. To this part of the building was atta  
small back court with offices: the whole calc  
for privacy.

"In one of the outer quadrangles was a p  
water, in the midst of which a stone room was  
exactly in the shape of one of the covered ba  
the country. In others of the quadrangles were j  
trees, and, in the largest, a huge heap of rocks  
piled, but firmly fixed upon each other, and  
end was a spot laid out for a garden in miniatu  
it did not appear to have been finished."

In the best Chinese mansions there are seld  
stairs beyond the few stone steps by which th  
raised above the general level of the ground  
stonework of the foundation is extremely so  
handsome, and in the neighbourhood of Cant  
always of granite. The walls are of blue bri  
quently with an artificial facing or pointing, b

s are apt to be deceived as to the fineness of ickwork. They work in stucco with great presenting animals, flowers, and fruits, which etimes coloured to imitate nature; and the ss of this ornament makes it very common. titution-walls of the inner courts are frequently into compartments, which are filled with an rk of green varnished tile, or coarse porcelain. de in which they tile their roofs is evidently from the use of split bamboos for the same , as it is practised to this day by the Malays, cribed by Marsden. The transverse section tiles being something of a semicircle, they down the roof with their concave sides upper-serve as gutters, the upturned edges of every eing contiguous. But, as these would admit at the lines of contact, other tiles are laid in ry position over them, and the whole secured places by mortar.

vn, where space is of consequence, the houses ps of the greater number of the inhabitants tory above the ground floor, and on the roof is ected a wooden stage or platform for drying or for taking the air in hot evenings. This contributes to make their houses very liable and to spread fires during a conflagration. ; surprises the Chinese more than the repre-ns or descriptions of the five and six storied of European cities; and the emperor is said inquired if it was the smallness of the territory pelled the inhabitants to build their dwell- near the clouds. They have the most absurd tion in regard to the ill-luck that attends the n of dwellings above a certain height; and tion of a gable end (which they denominate character for *metal*, approaching to the same ill fill a whole family with consternation, ain ceremonies have been performed to dis- "evil influence." These remedies are about ounded in common sense as the evils which





are employed to remove, and resemble exactly charms and exorcisms used in our olden time against witches, ghosts, and devils. In the same way a horse-shoe, with us, nailed against the door is an infallible protection from a witch, the figure of a dragon, with its mouth wide open, opposite to an unlucky roof, swallows up all the *ngô-ky*, "the air, or influence." The Chinese, however, never seem to have reached that height of judicial acumen which, in former times with us, many a helpless woman was thrown into the water, to be drowned if she sank, or burnt if she floated.

The magnificence of Chinese mansions is estimated in some measure by the ground which they cover, and by the number and size of the courts and buildings. The real space is often eked out by winding and complicated passages or galleries, decorated with painting and trellis-work in very good taste. The floors are often paved with figured tiles. Large tanks and ponds, with the nelumbium, or sacred lotus, are essential to every country house, and these pools are generally filled with quantities of the golden carp, and other fish. Masses of artificial rock either rise out of the water, or are strewn about the grounds, in an affected imitation of nature, and on these are often planted their stunted trees. Sir William Chambers's description of Chinese gardening is a mere prose work of imagination, without a shadow of foundation in reality. Their taste is indeed extremely defective and vicious on this particular point, and, as an improvement of nature, ranks much on a par with the stamping of their women's feet. The only exception exists in the gardens, or rather parks, of the emperor Yuen-ming-yuen, which Mr. Barrow describes as good and both in plan and extent; but for a subject to imitate these would be almost criminal, even if it were possible.

The apartments of the Chinese are by no means so full of furniture as ours in England, and in this respect they have reached a point of luxury far short of ours.

own. Perhaps, however, they are the only people of Asia who use chairs: these resemble the solid and lumbering pieces of furniture which were in fashion more than a century ago, as described by Cowper:—

“ But restless was the chair ; the back erect  
Distress'd the weary loins, that felt no ease ;  
The slippery seat betray'd the sliding part  
That press'd it, and the feet hung dangling down.”

Cushions, with hangings for the back, are sometimes used of silk, or English woollens, generally of a scarlet colour, embroidered in silk patterns by the Chinese women. Near the chairs are commonly placed those articles of furniture which the Portuguese call *cuspadores*, or spitting-pots, rendered necessary by the universal habit of smoking. The disagreeable noise that attends the clearing the throat and fauces of the poison inhaled by this bestial practice, is perpetual among the Chinese, and makes one enter feelingly into the complaints which have proceeded from several visitors of the United States, in regard to similar habits among our Transatlantic brethren.

Among the principal ornaments are the varied lanterns of silk, horn, and other materials which are suspended from the roofs, adorned with crimson tassels, but which for purposes of illumination are so greatly behind our lamps, and produce more smoke than light. At a Chinese feast, one is always reminded of the lighting of a Roman entertainment:—

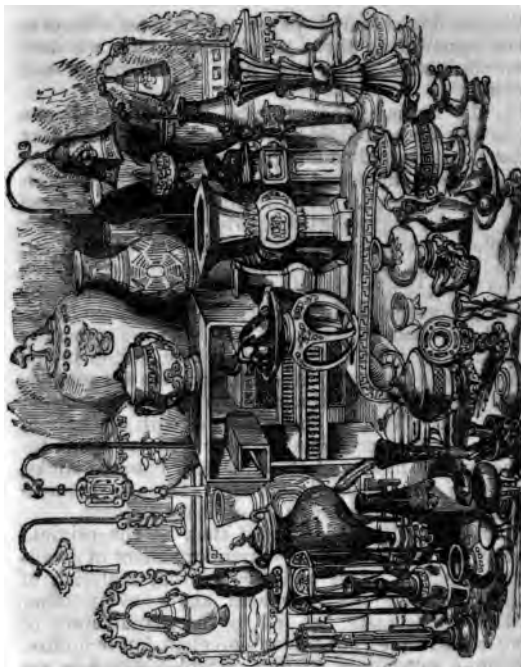
“ Sordidum flammæ trepidant rotantes  
Vertice fumum.”

The great variety, and, in the eyes of a Chinese, the beauty of the written character, occasions its being adopted as an *ornament* on almost all occasions. Calligraphy (or fine hand-writing) is much studied among them, and the autographs of a friend or patron, consisting of moral sentences, poetical couplets, or quotations from the sacred books, are kept as *memorials*, or displayed as ornaments in their apartments. They are generally inscribed largely upon labels of white

atin, or fine-coloured paper, and almost always in pairs, constituting those *parallelisms* which we shall have to notice under the head of Literature and Poetry.

In the forms of their furniture they often affect a departure from straight and uniform lines, and adopt what might be called a regular confusion, as in the divisions and shelves of a book-case, or the compartments of a screen. Even in their doorways, instead of a regular right-angled aperture, one often sees a complete circle, or the shape of a leaf, or of a jar. This, however, is only when there are no doors required to be shut, their absence being often supplied by hanging-screens of silk and cloth, or bamboo blinds like those used in India. Their beds are generally very simple, with curtains of silk or cotton in the winter, and a fine mosquito-net during the hot months, when they lie on a mat spread upon the hard bottom of the bed. Two or three boards, with a couple of narrow benches or forms on which to lay them, together with a mat, and three or four bamboo sticks, to stretch the mosquito curtains of coarse hempen cloth, constitute the bed of an ordinary Chinese.

It may readily be supposed that, in the original country of porcelain, a very usual ornament of dwellings consists of vases and jars of that material, of which the antiquity is valued above every other quality. This taste has led to the manufacture of fictitious antiques, not only in porcelain, but in bronze, and other substances,—points on which strangers are often very egregiously taken in at Canton. The shapes of their tripods, and other ancient vessels, real or imitated, are often fantastical, and not unlike similar vestiges in Europe. In these they place their sticks of incense, composed principally of sandal-wood dust, which serve to perfume their chambers, as well as to regale the gods in their temples. The Chinese are great collectors of curiosities of all kinds, and the cabinets of some individuals at Canton are worth examining.



Having considered the accommodations of the Chinese when at rest, we may view them in locomotion or when travelling. The manner in which the greater part of the empire is intersected by rivers and canals makes water-carriage the most common as well as commodious method of transit from place to place; but where that is impossible they travel (towards the south) in chairs; and in the great flat about Peking in a one-horse tilted waggon, or *cart*,—for it deserves no better name. The multiform inconveniences

primitive machines were experienced by the  
ers of the last embassy, and have been feelingly  
bed by some of them. The wheels, frequently  
and without spokes, are low and fixed to very  
axle-trees. The bodies, covered with tilts of  
cotton, open only in front, and are just wide  
gh to admit two persons closely wedged. They  
no raised seats, and the only posture is to be  
hed at length, or with the legs drawn up, the  
er being always in close contact with the axle,  
ut the intervention of springs. A servant of the  
ssador, who was an invalid at the time, and had  
rength to avoid the violence of the shocks, ac-  
suffered a concussion of the brain.

Chinese occasionally travel on horseback, but  
best land-conveyance by far is the sedan, a  
le which certainly exists among them in perfec-

Whether viewed in regard to lightness, com-  
w any other quality associated with such a mode  
riage, there is nothing so convenient elsewhere.  
bearers place upon their shoulders the poles,  
are thin and elastic, and in shape something  
he shafts of a gig connected near the ends; and  
s manner they proceed forward with a measured  
an almost imperceptible motion, and sometimes  
considerable speed. Instead of pannels, the sides  
ack of the chair consist of woollen cloth for the  
of lightness, with a covering of oil-cloth against

The front is closed by a hanging-blind of the  
materials in lieu of a door, with a circular aper-  
of gauze to see through. The Europeans at  
so furnish theirs with Venetian blinds, and never  
use of any other carriage. Private persons  
g the Chinese are restricted to two bearers, ordi-  
magistrates to four, and the viceroys to eight;  
the emperor alone is great enough to require  
en. They divide the weight by multiplying the  
er of shoulder-sticks applied to the poles, as re-  
nted in a vignette to Staunton's embassy, in an  
nce where the number of bearers would be six-

teen; and this rule is made applicable to the veyance of the heaviest burdens by coolies or porters. The Chinese constantly remind one of ants, in the manner in which they conquer difficulties without the aid of mere numbers; and they resemble those minute animals no less in their persevering and conquerable industry.

There is no country of the same extent in which horses are so little used for the purpose of carriage or draft, and this seems to arise, in some measure, from their grudging to animals that which the earth otherwise provides for man. Horses are in general miserable stunted creatures of the smaller order of ponies, and almost always in the worst condition; nor is the comparison in most respects much better than the beast. The rider is wedged in a high saddle of the usual oriental character, of which every part, stirrups included, is extremely heavy and cumbersome. The bridles ought to be of stitched leather but they are often of rope: and tufts of red horsehair are sometimes suspended from the chest of the animal. Where no rivers or canals afford the conveniences of water-carriage, the roads, or rather pathways, are paved in the south for horses, carriages and foot-passengers; but no wheel-carriages were introduced by the embassies except in the flat country towards Peking.

Official persons are accommodated with lodgings during their journeys in buildings called *Koong-kuân*, government hotels, and wherever one of these does not exist, the priests of the Budh sect are called upon to provide for them in their temples. The gods are sometimes to be treated with little ceremony on such occasions. In 1816, a portion of the great temple on the side of the river opposite to Canton was appropriated to the British embassy, and fitted up for that purpose at the requisition of the factory, in a very handsome style, altogether different from the mode in which they had been commonly lodged in the interior. This thing surprised the Chinese more than the number



[Mandarin bearing Emperor's Letter.]

ts and conveniences which the English seemed  
ire, and the quantity of their baggage. One

of their own nation travels with little more than a hard pillow rolled up in a thin mattress, or a mat : and as for his wardrobe, he carries it all on his back, when not travelling by water. In the latter mode of carriage, the great officers of government sometimes convey no small quantity of goods, and, as their baggage is exempted from search, it is said that the privilege is often abused to smuggle opium.

There is no post regulated by the government for facilitating the general intercourse of its subjects though one would imagine that a system of the kind might be made very serviceable by this jealous autocracy (as it has by some others) in promoting the special objects of its police. The government expresses are forwarded by land along a line of posts, at each of which a horse is always kept ready ; and it is said that when the haste is urgent, a feather is tied to the packet, and the express is called a *fei-ma*, " flying-horse," on which occasions the courier is expected to go at the rate of about a hundred miles a day, until relieved. In this manner a despatch from Peking reaches Canton, or *vice versa*, a distance of 1200 miles, in a fortnight or twelve days. A letter from the emperor himself is carried by an officer of some rank in a hollow tube, attached to his back. They have no telegraphs, but the embassies frequently observed that three conical, or rather sugar-loaf, beacons were erected on the most conspicuous points, to serve as signals by day or night, with the assistance of lighted wood or straw in the hollow chimney-like interior.

There is printed for general use a very accurate itinerary of the empire, containing the distances in Chinese *ly* from town to town ; and one of these, on being compared with the actual distances on the map, as travelled by the last embassy, was found to correspond with sufficient exactness. But the greatest public accommodation consists in the arrangements for the conveyance of goods, which are regulated in the best manner. The public porters are under the management of a head man who is responsible for



1. The wages for the number engaged are paid in advance, upon which he furnishes a corresponding number of tickets, and, when the work is done, these are delivered as vouchers for the several carriers to carry back and receive their money. The daily pay is one mace, or under 8d. per diem; and just-worthy are these poor people, that not a single mace was known to be lost by the embassies in all the distance between the northern and southern extremes of the empire.

But, putting speed out of the question, there certainly is no country of the world in which travelling by water is so commodious as in China; and it seems reasonable to attribute this circumstance to the universal prevalence of that mode of locomotion. Inland, all the river craft of this people may be said to be unrivalled. The small draft of water, and, at the same time, great burthen and stiffness of their vessels, the perfect ease with which they are worked through the most intricate passages and most crowded straits, and the surprising accommodation which they afford, have always attracted attention. The Arab Ibn Batuta, whose travels we have before noticed, in describing the inland trading vessels of the Chinese, says that they were moved by "large oars, which might be compared to great masts (in respect of size), each of which five-and-twenty men were sometimes employed, who worked standing." He evidently alludes to the enormous and very powerful sculls, which are fixed at the stern of their vessels, exactly as he describes, at the present day.

From its situation in the line of the vessel's course, the scull machine takes up no room in the passage of their crowded rivers and canals—an advantage of no small consequence, if considered by itself. It is a moving machine, precisely on the principle of a fish's tail, from which it is well known that the watery tribes derive nearly all their propelling force, as the fins do little more than serve to balance them. The composition of two lateral forces, as the tail or the scull is worked

to the right and left, of course drives the fish, or the vessel, forward in the diagonal of the forces, according to a well-known principle in mechanics. Although in the Chinese river craft there is always a rudder to steer with in sailing, the scull will at any time serve in its stead, by merely shifting the balance of impulse to either side as required. These sculls are sometime thirty feet in length, and the friction is reduced to the least possible amount, by the fulcrum being a tenon and mortice of iron, working comparatively on a point.

The track-ropes, made of narrow strips of the strong silicious surface of the bamboo, combining the greatest lightness with strength, are very exactly described by Marco Polo:—"They have canes of the length of fifteen paces, such as have been already described, which they split in their whole length, into very thin pieces and these, by twisting them together, they form into ropes 300 paces long: so skilfully are they manufactured that they are equal in strength to cordage made of hemp. With these ropes the vessels are tracked along the river by means of ten or twelve horses to each, as well upwards against the current as in the opposite direction." It is remarkable that the very instance where the practice of the present day differs from this faithful traveller's narrative, may be considered as an additional proof of his general correctness. Horses are not now used to track the Chinese boats, although it may have been the practice under the first Mongol conquerors; but the emperor's warrant to each officer specifies a certain number of *horses*, according to his rank, and *men* are supplied as trackers, in lieu of horses, at the rate of three for each horse. Du Halde gives a very correct account of this in his second volume. The oars which they occasionally use towards the head of their boats, besides the scull abaft, are rather short, with broad blades. These are suspended with a loop on a strong peg at the side of the boat, and there is an advantage in its not being *always necessary to unship them, as, when useless,*

they are drawn by the water close to the vessel's side, without any retarding effect. There is, besides, no friction, nor any noise in a rulloch, and no encumbrance of oars within the boat.



[Accommodation-Barge.]

The travelling barges, used by mandarins and opulent persons, afford a degree of comfort and accommodation quite unknown in boats of the same description elsewhere ; but it must be repeated, that *speed* is a quality which they do not possess. The roof is not less than seven or eight feet in height, and the principal accommodations consist of an ante-room at the head for servants, a sitting-room about the centre of the boat, and a sleeping apartment and closet abaft. All the cooking goes on upon the high overhanging stern, where the crew also are accommodated. There are gangways of boards on each side of the vessel, which serve for poling it along the shallows, by means of very long and light bamboos, and which also allow of the servants and crew passing from head to stern without incommoding the inmates. The better boats are very well lit by glass windows at the sides, or by the thin interior laminæ of oyster-shells. Others have transparent paper or gauze, on which are painted flowers, birds, and other devices, while the partitions, or bulk-heads, of the apartments are varnished and gilded. The decks or floors of the cabins remove in square compartments, and admit of all baggage being stowed away in the hold. Everything in their river-boats is kept remarkably clean, and this habit presents

a strong contrast to their general neglect of cleanliness in their houses on shore, which have not the so ready access to water, and are besides often very drained. In short, their travelling barges are as much superior to the crank and rickety budgerows of India as our European ships are to the sea-junks of the Chinese, who seem to have reserved all their ingenuity for their river craft, and to have afforded as little encouragement as possible to maritime or foreign venture.

Where the expense is not regarded, Europeans of travel between Macao and Canton in the large Chinese boats, of some eighty tons burthen, which are commonly used in unloading the ships, but fitted when required with partitions, glass windows, and other conveniences for travelling. The charges the mandarins, under the denomination of duties and fees, at length grew to be so oppressive, that the thing was brought to the notice of the viceroy in 1818 and a considerable abatement made in the expense. Still, however, this is so considerable, and the delays interposed midway in the passage, for the purposes of scrutiny and examination, are so tedious and harassing that most *barbarians* prefer going up and down by the ship's passage in European boats. In this, as well as many other instances, the cupidity of the mandarins has defeated its own purpose.

Nothing could more strongly characterize the trading character of the Chinese among themselves and the activity of their internal traffic, than the vast numbers of passage-boats which are constantly sailing along the rivers and canals, crowded both inside and out with a host of passengers. The fare in these vessels is, quaintly enough, termed *shuey-keü*, "water legs," as it serves in lieu of those limbs to transport the body. None, however, above the poorer class avail themselves of these conveyances, as a small private boat can always be engaged, by natives, at sufficiently cheap rate. That the company on board the public transports is not of the most select order,

plain from a caution generally pasted against the mast, "*Kin shin ho paou*," "Mind your purses." There is a species of tavern, or public-house, a short way above the European factories in Canton, at the point whence all these passage-boats are obliged to start by the regulation of the police, and where the crowd and concourse is sometimes really surprising. Regular passports are always required, and the whole system appears admirably arranged to promote the objects of every cautious and vigilant government, in the maintenance of order, without impeding the general circulation of industry.

There is, in short, a business-like character about the Chinese which assimilates them in a striking manner to the most intelligent nations of the west, and certainly marks them out, in very prominent relief, from the rest of Asiatics. However oddly it may sound, it does not seem too much to say, that in everything which enters into the composition of actively industrious and well-organised communities, there is but less difference between them and the English, French, and Americans, than between these and the inhabitants of Spain and Portugal, whose proneness to stolid bigotry and oriental laziness were perhaps in part imbibed from the Arabs. Through the influence of climate and other causes, these seem still retained in a surprising degree, though they must be expected to give way to the example of more enlightened nations.

Whenever the effects of our scientific machinery in bridging labour are explained to an intelligent Chinese, the first idea that strikes him is the disastrous effect that such a system would work upon his over-crowded country, if suddenly introduced into it, and he never fails to deprecate such an innovation as the most calamitous of visitations. We shall see hereafter that they have some ingenious contrivances by which to avail themselves of the natural moving powers presented by wind, water, and the force of gravity, and that they have managed to appropriate in practice

most of the mechanical powers with surprising simplicity and effect: but of the strength that slumbers in the giant arm of steam they are at once theoretically and practically ignorant, although they both understand and apply, in their commonest cookery, the *heat* of steam under confinement to dress vegetables.

The canal and the Yellow River are a perpetual source of anxiety and expense to the government, to keep their banks in repair, and prevent those inundations to which the country in the neighbourhood is constantly liable. The use of steam-vessels is therefore utterly precluded by the peculiar character and circumstance of *one* of the principal streams of China, as well as of the grand canal. But it was impossible to travel, with the embassy in 1816, along that noble river the Yang-tse-kiang, which divides as nearly as possible the empire into two equal parts, and flows through its finest climates, without wishing for steam-boats; more especially while suffering under the delay that arose from sailing up against that mighty stream, which runs with a prevailing ebb towards the sea. It is indeed for such rivers as the Mississippi and the Kiang that steamers are most peculiarly fitted, and nothing can be less like steamers than the progress of the Chinese travelling boats. Those very points of shape and construction, from which they derive their commodiousness and safety, render them extremely slow under the most favourable circumstances, and with the exception of their smuggling boats, the Chinese may be said to be anything but economists of *time* on the water.

The following extract from an unpublished journal of the last embassy\* exactly describes the singular process of passing the sluices, which are substituted on the grand canal for *locks*. The advantage of the latter mode (which seems unknown to the Chinese) is, the vessel being raised or lowered to a different level

\* Journal of Sir George Staunton.

the gradual rise or fall of the water in which it floats, by which means the dangers of a sluice are completely obviated. "It was announced that some of our boats were come up for the purpose of passing through the sluice, upon which the ambassador proposed to the legate that we should walk up to the pier-head, to see the manner in which this was effected. The legate said he would accompany us with pleasure, being himself curious to see the boats pass; we all accordingly stood upon the pier head, while four headmost boats (of sixty or seventy tons burthen) were shot through the sluice. By means of the precautions adopted, and which consisted partly in going against the sides of the pier large fenders, or coils of rope, to deaden any accidental concussion, the boats passed through with perfect safety. The shock was somewhat greater than that of the Thames over the arches of old London Bridge, but still the speed and difficulty seem to have been a good deal diminished. The stone abutments were constructed of large blocks of grey marble or lime-stone, with a few blocks of granite intermixed. After the boats had passed, we returned with the legate to the pier-head for a few minutes, and then rose to rejoin our friends, and return in them to our boats.

At half-past twelve we passed through a second sluice similar to the first, without taking the trouble to quit our boats. We then brought to for some time, and did not pass through the third sluice until about three. The fall here was fully as great, and the current as rapid as in the first sluice; but we all declined the legate's second invitation to land while the boats were passing through. The passage was effected by the whole of our squadron without loss or accident. The boats of smaller dimensions steered directly for the sluice, and shot through the opening at once; but the common dinner-boat, and those of the ambassadors and commissioners, were obliged to be warped along the bank up to the pier-head gradually. In no mode any failure or mistake from bad steering

or ropes giving way, might have been attended serious consequences; for if any of the smaller boats had struck on the pier-head, or if any of the larger ones had swung round and presented their bows to the sluice, they would in both cases have run a considerable hazard of being stove in and wrecked, and some of the persons in them might have been drowned in the confusion. The large boat in which I was had been warped up to a proper position, and was at the point of being loosened from the ropes in order to shoot through the aperture, when a succession of small boats unexpectedly came up, and stopped themselves of the passage, compelling us to lie to against the stream for about a quarter of an hour in a situation that was awkward, if not hazardous."

It is curious to find this description of the passage on the canal so exactly agreeing with that of a European traveller not much less than six hundred years ago, soon after that artificial route by water was constructed under the Mongol conquerors of China. The difference of level is commonly from five to six feet at the sluices, but in passing by the town of Kaifêng, near the embouchure of the Yellow River, the boats sailed at an elevation of between fifteen and twenty feet above the level of the city, and the travellers looked down upon the roofs of the houses, which any accident to the bank of the canal might inevitably have consigned to destruction. The execution of such a work in China, at a time when the country was involved in comparative barbarism, affords a curious subject for reflection.



## CHAPTER XI.

## CITIES—PEKING.

striking feature of all the principal cities consists in the high castellated walls of blue brick which they are surrounded, and of which the king may be considered as a specimen, with considerable difference, of course, in respect to height and thickness. Like the ancient of the empire, this consists of a mound of rubbish incased with brick. The height is twenty feet, the thin parapet being deeply embosomed with intermediate loopholes, but bearing no resemblance to regular embrasures for artillery. Cannon are not often seen mounted on the walls, here are often some old guns lying about the gates. The thickness of the wall at the base is twenty feet, diminishing, by the inclination of the surface, to twelve or more at the summit. The weight of this wall, with its perpendicular face, would only serve to facilitate the work of battering-cannon, which, of course, is not to breach from the base; but the principal use, in the wars of the Chinese and Tartars, has been the bow and arrow. At each gate is a *doubled* by an outer enclosure in a semicircular shape, the entrance to which is not opposite the principal gate, but lateral, with a view to the defence. Over both gates are erected several stories, which serve to lodge the soldiers to guard them. At intervals of about sixty feet along the length of the wall are flanking towers of the same height, projecting about thirty feet from the curtain. Most of the plans of Peking

represent a wet ditch entirely compassing the city, and it no doubt extends round a certain; but when the embassy passed, in 1861, they were quite certain that the north-east portion had a dry ditch, and that some of the gentlemen used their vehicles to take out specimens of the bones from the numerous holes which time and neglect had made in the face of the wall. The same thing was noticed at Nanking, the ancient enclosure of which was as lofty as the present bulwark of Peking, but the remains of a ditch could be perceived at that place when the travellers visited.

The area on which Nanking stood was more extensive than the space enclosed by the walls of the city, but the greater portion of the surface surrounding the ancient defence is now devoid of even the remains of buildings; and the city of Keang-ning-fu, at present called, occupies only a corner of the ancient enclosure. Peking likewise contains vast open spaces of great extent, that it is very surprising considering the lowness of the one-storied buildings to imagine how it can hold such a monstrous population as some have attributed to it. A very large portion of the northern or Tartarian city is occupied by the enclosure which contains the palaces and the private grounds of the emperor; the remainder is covered over with the official or religious buildings, all surrounded by large open courts; and the city to the south has some very extensive spaces occupied by immensely spreading buildings, and a large lake attached, where the emperor sacrifices to heaven and performs the annual ceremony of ploughing, and various other rites. There are, besides, large quantities of water, and gardens devoted to the growth of vegetables for the city. With every allowance, therefore, for the extent of area enclosed by the walls of the city, the population of Peking can hardly exceed that which is comprised within the London bills of mortality; it has been stated at double that amount.

Father Hyacinth, long resident in the

China as a member of the Russian mission, has given a very circumstantial account of it, much of which is founded on personal observation, and the rest derived from inquiry or books. The short time which the mission of Earl Macartney passed there admitted of fewer opportunities of investigation; but Mr. Barrow, who was left at Peking and Yuen-ming-yuen, while the ambassador attended the emperor beyond the wall, made good use of his time, and has given us a graphic description of what he witnessed. The streets of Canton and of most other cities are extremely narrow, admitting of only three or four foot-passengers abreast; but the principal thoroughfares of Peking, which connect its different gates, are fully one hundred feet in width. These are unpaved, no doubt, in consequence of the difficulty and expense of procuring stone in the immense alluvial flat on which the city stands; and every inhabitant is compelled by the police to clean and sprinkle with water, during the dry months, that portion of the street which fronts his abode, with a view to allay the dust. In rainy weather, however, the principal ways are said to be in a dreadful state from the want of proper drains, and in consequence of the perfect level of the ground not allowing the water to flow off.

Sir George Staunton thus describes the appearance of the capital, when it was traversed by the embassy on the way to Yuen-ming-yuen:—"The first street extended on a line directly to the westward, until it was interrupted by the eastern wall of the imperial palace, called the Yellow Wall,\* from the colour of the small roof of varnished tiles with which the top of it is covered. Various public buildings, seen at the same time, and considered as belonging to the emperor, were covered in the same manner. Those roofs, uninterrupted by chimneys, and indented in the sides and ridges into gentle curves, with an effect more pleasing than would be produced by long straight

\* The Chinese name is "The Imperial Wall."

lines, were adorned with a variety of figures, either in imitation of real objects, or more commonly as mere works of fancy; the whole shining like gold under a brilliant sun, immediately caught the eye with an appearance of grandeur in that part of the buildings where it was not accustomed to be sought for. Immense magazines of rice were seen near the gate; and, looking from it to the left along the city wall, was perceived an elevated edifice, described as an observatory, erected in the former dynasty, by the Emperor Yöong-lo, to whom the chief embellishments of Peking are said to be owing.

"Several circumstances, independently of the arrival of strangers, contributed to throng so wide a street. A procession was moving towards the gate, in which the white or bridal colour (according to European ideas) of the persons who formed it, seemed at first to announce a marriage ceremony; but the appearance of young men overwhelmed with grief showed it to be a funeral,\* much more indeed than the corse itself, which was contained in a handsome square case, shaded with a canopy painted with gay and lively colours, and preceded by standards of variegated silks. Behind it were sedan-chairs covered with white cloth, containing the female relations of the deceased. The white colour, denoting in China the affliction of those who wear it, is sedulously avoided by such as wish to manifest sentiments of a contrary kind;† it is therefore never seen in the ceremony of nuptials (met soon afterwards), where the lady, as yet unseen by the bridegroom, is carried in a gilt and gaudy chair, hung round with festoons of artificial flowers, and followed by relations, attendants, and servants bearing the paraphernalia, being the only portion given with a daughter in marriage by her parents. The crowd was not a little increased by the mandarins of rank appear-

\* The Chinese, who are not fond of using ill-omened words, call a funeral "a white affair."

† It is avoided as being unlucky, or ill-omened. The colour of compliment or congratulation is red.

ing always with numerous attendants; and still more by circles of the populace round auctioneers, venders of medicines, fortune-tellers, singers, jugglers, and story-tellers, beguiling their hearers of a few of their *tchen*, or copper money, intended probably for other purposes. Among the stories that caught, at this moment, the imagination of the people, the arrival of the embassy was said to furnish no inconsiderable share. The presents brought by it to the emperor were asserted to include whatever was rare in other countries, or not known before to the Chinese. Of the animals that were brought, it was gravely mentioned that there was an elephant of the size of a monkey, and as fierce as a lion, and a cock that fed on charcoal. \* \* \* \* \*

“As soon as the persons belonging to the embassy had arrived at the eastern side of the Yellow Wall, they turned along it to the right, and found on its northern side much less bustle than in the former street. Instead of shops, all were private houses, not conspicuous in the front. Before each house was a wall or curtain, to prevent passengers from seeing the court into which the street door opened. This wall is called the wall of *Respect*. A halt was made opposite the treble gates, which are nearly in the centre of this northern side of the palace wall. It appeared to enclose a large quantity of ground: it was not level like all the lands without the wall: some of it was raised into hills of steep ascent: the earth taken to form them left broad and deep hollows, now filled with water. Out of these artificial lakes, of which the margins were diversified and irregular, small islands rose, with a variety of fanciful edifices, interspersed with trees. On the hills of different heights the principal palaces for the emperor were erected. The whole had somewhat the appearance of enchantment \* \* \* \* \*. From the spot whence an opportunity thus offered to take a glance, through the gates of the palace wall, at part of what was enclosed within it, the eye, turning to the north, observed, through a street extending to the city wall, the great fabric, of considerable

height, which includes a bell of prodigious size and cylindrical form, that, struck on the outside with a wooden mallet, emits a sound distinctly heard throughout the capital. Beyond it, but more to the westward, was one of the northern gates, the watch-tower over which rendered it visible above the intermediate buildings. Proceeding on beyond the palace gates, directly to the westward, between the Yellow Wall and the northern buildings of the city, is a lake of some acres in extent, now, in autumn, almost entirely overspread with the peltated leaf of the *nymphaea nelumbo*, or *lien-wha* of the Chinese \* \* \* \* \*.

The route was continued westerly through the city. The dwelling-house of some Russians was pointed out, and, what was more singular, a library of foreign manuscripts, one of which was said to be an Arabic copy of the Koran. Some Mahometans were seen, distinguished by red caps. Among the spectators of the novel sight some women were observed; the greatest number were said to be natives of Tartary or of a Tartar race. Their feet were not cramped like those of the Chinese; and their shoes with broad toes, and soles above an inch in thickness, were as clumsy as those of the original Chinese ladies were diminutive. A few of the former were well-dressed, with delicate features, and their complexions heightened with the aid of art. A thick patch of vermilion on the middle of the lower lip seemed to be a favourite mode of using paint. Some of them were sitting in covered carriages, of which, as well as of horses, there are several to be found for hire in various parts of the town.\* A few of the Tartar ladies were on horseback, and rode astride like men. Tradesmen with their tools, searching for employment, and pedlars offering their wares for sale, were everywhere to be seen. Several of the streets were narrow, and at the entrance of them gates were erected, near which guards were stationed, it

\* None but privileged persons can use a chair so near to the emperor; but, in other parts, these are the common conveyances.

said, to quell any occasional disturbance in the neighbourhood. Those gates are shut at night, and are only opened in cases of exigency. The train of the embassy crossed a street which extended north and south the whole length of the Tartar city, almost four miles, and is interrupted only by several *pai-loos*, or *emphal* fabrics; and passing by many temples and other capacious buildings and magazines, they reached, after little more than two hours from their entrance on the eastern side, to one of the western city gates."

From this they issued towards the imperial park of *Chien-ming-yuen*, and the route, thus accurately described, can readily be traced on the plan of Peking. The Tartar city, through which they passed, is about five miles in breadth from east to west, and four in length from north to south. The portion traversed by the embassy was rather more than five miles, which was as much as they could accomplish, with all interruptions, in the space of time mentioned above. The obstructions seen by them to the left on entering the city—that of the *Kiu-sing* (or planet Venus), near the east corner of the wall. A new set of instruments made for it by order of K'ang-hy, under the direction of the Catholic missionaries; and the astronomical instruments brought out by Lord Macartney were subsequently deposited there. The high fabric, with its cylindrical bell, which the travellers observed in the north gate of the imperial wall and the south gate of the Tartar city on that side, is the *Choong-t'ing*—"Bell-tower," near to which is the office of the chief of the Nine Gates," to whose charge is intrusted the police of the city. A wooden mallet, stuck upon the huge bell, makes known the hours of the night, and the sound is heard throughout the greater part of the city.

Within the precincts of the Tartarian city, near the south gate of the imperial wall, are the principal tribunals of the supreme government; and within them is the college of the Russian missionaries, consisting of ten persons, who are periodically

wall, near the lake and gardens on the north of the enclosure. This great space, occupying of about two square miles, is just in the centre of the Tartarian city, and can be entered by none but authorised persons. It corresponds in shape to the limits of the city, being an oblong square, of a very regular plan; and contains within itself a still more sacred enclosure, devoted exclusively to the emperor's abode, called "The Prohibited City." This contains the private palaces of the sovereign and his empress, communicating by a gate on the north with a square two-thirds of a mile in length, and are situated the artificial hills and woods near the city. By Sir George Staunton, as seen at a distance, the progress through Peking. The architectural arrangements of the palaces and courts within the "Prohibited wall" are described as far exceeding any specimens of the kind in China.

In regard to population, the vast areas within the imperial wall, and the central or inner wall may be considered comparatively



walls, and those of the southern or Chinese city, contain together. This number nearly equals the *whole population* of the kingdom of Portugal by the latest census. If we admit that the number of subjects who own the emperor of China for their master really exceeds the amount of three hundred millions, he may well speak with contempt of states whose entire population goes not beyond the *hundredth part* of his own "black-haired race," as he calls them.

On the east side of the Tartarian city is the Altar of the Sun, because the luminary rises in that quarter; and for a similar, though not the same reason, the Altar of the Moon is on the western side, because at the opposition, or at full moon, she sets in the west, while the sun rises on the other side. This regard to the place of the sun's rising serves to explain several points in Chinese customs. Their climate makes it necessary to build all considerable houses fronting the south, but closed to the north; for the sake of admitting the southerly monsoon in summer, and excluding the northerly in winter. The eastern side of the house is the most honourable, for the reason above given, and the master of a family is therefore called *Tung-kea*, "East of the household." But the *left hand* is likewise to the east of the principal seat in the hall of reception, which serves to explain the circumstance of their making the left side the place of honour, so contrary to the custom which generally prevails in other countries.

The Chinese town, which lies to the south of the Tartarian, or "City of Nine Gates," is not subject to the same rigid system of military police as that which contains the abode of the emperor; and its walls and defences are inferior to those of the other, being, in fact, like the ordinary Chinese towns. The included area is about equal to that of the Tartarian city, but of this a very considerable portion is occupied by the immense courts of the temples dedicated to "Heaven," and to the deified inventor of agriculture (sometimes styled the Temple of "Earth"), where the emperor *sacrifices annually*, and performs the ceremony of

ploughing the sacred field. The Altar to F stands in a square enclosure, measuring about miles in circuit, near the southern wall of the C city. The terrace consists of three stages, dir ing from one hundred and twenty to sixty feet meter, each stage being surrounded by a marl lustrade, and ascended by steps of the same m Towards the north-west of the enclosure is the of Abstinence, where the emperor fasts for thr preparatory to offering sacrifices to the heavens winter solstice. On the other side of the grea tral street leading to the Tartarian city, and ju against the Temple of the Heavens, stands the / the Earth. The square enclosure is about twi in circuit, and contains the field which is once ploughed by the emperor and his great office the produce reserved for sacrifices.

In the vicinity of the south-east angle of tl nease city are extensive sheets of water, and larg spaces cultivated with grain and vegetables use of Peking. Towards the south-west angl beyond the Temples of the Heavens and the E a huge pool or lake, dedicated to the genius watery element, under the designation of H the "Black Dragon," where the emperor either cates or prays for rain, according as the count be afflicted by deluge or drought. These chasms in the population of the capital, with tl spaces occupied by the imperial palaces and g make it very improbable that the population king should be more than twice that of Londor cially as the houses are only of one story. T strict police of the Chinese city makes it a p retirement to many from the other, where th cautions for the emperor's personal safety and produce a system of discipline not unlike th garrison town. The "General of the Nine C under whose charge it is placed, was sent, in l urge the departure of the embassy from Yuen yuen, and he did his best to excite their ala

telling them that he commanded "a million of men."

There seems to be some reason for the care with which the Tartarian city is guarded, if we take into consideration the dangers arising from occasional scarcities in an immensely populous city, which is fed, in a great measure, with grain brought from the southern provinces. In the year 1824 the court were seriously alarmed by the consequences of a severe drought, which produced, first want, and afterwards pestilence at Peking. The present emperor, then reigning, issued a proclamation in these words:—"The numerous resort of a hungry populace from the surrounding country has led to the occasional plundering of articles of food, and we have already issued our commands for restraining and controlling them. One of the censors has reported that sundry vagrants, with the excuse of want and starvation, have been committing depredations in the markets and other places of public resort, in contravention of the laws. The proper authorities are hereby commanded to issue proclamations on the subject, and to exercise a rigid control, that the neighbourhood of the imperial residence may be well governed and orderly. The erection of additional playhouses (according to the same report) being highly prejudicial to the morals of the people, the police of the city must also restrain and keep them within bounds."

Soon after was issued the subjoined:—"The different stations at Peking have distributed grain during a long-continued period; but on the 20th day of the 6th moon let them all be shut, and the distribution cease, as the stores will not admit of further donations. The harvest is now approaching, and the people may return to their several districts to seek a livelihood by their own labour. Let the governor of the province enjoin the district officers to exercise a strict vigilance, at the same time soothing the distressed populace, and preventing their wandering about in a dispersed and vagabond manner; thus seconding our paternal



illeged wáng (or *regulus*), entered the palace and took the billet of nomination. Before the number which he there found, he boldly set the sign of and thus made it appear that he, the *fourteenth* emperor, was the one nominated. He possessed himself of the sceptre, and ordered his brother to be arrested and imprisoned in a place which is standing to this day four leagues to the north of Peking, in which it is said that he died." On the 18th October, 1813, as the late emperor, Keaking, was about to enter Peking, on his return from the summer excursion to Jê-ho (the springs, about one hundred miles north-east of the city), a party of conspirators entered the imperial palace, and kept possession of a part of it for some time. The present emperor, who was only his second son, is said to have owed his elevation to the good conduct displayed on this occasion. He shot two of the conspirators, and assisted to intimidate the remainder of whom he had penetrated within the precincts of the palace.

The first intimation of the preceding occurrence was conveyed in a proclamation from the emperor, of which the following is an extract:—"Eighteen years have elapsed since, possessed of only inferior virtue, I ascended the throne, and received with profound veneration the commands of my imperial father; since which I dared not allow myself to ease, or neglect the affairs of government."

I had but just ascended the throne, when the influence of the *White Lily* seduced into a state of confusion the provinces, and the people suffered more than I am able to express. I ordered my generals to prosecute against them, and, after a protracted conflict, reduced them to submission. I then hoped that with children (the people) I should have enjoyed increasing happiness and repose. On the 6th of the 8th month, the sect of Tien-ly (celestial reason), a band of rascals, suddenly created disorder, and caused great injury, extending from the district of Chang-chin in Pechele to that of Tsaou in Shantung. I ordered to direct Wun, the viceroy, to lead forth an

army to exterminate them, and restore peace. This affair, however, existed at the distance of one hundred leagues from Peking; but, suddenly, on the 15th of the 9th moon, rebellion arose under my own arm—the calamity sprung up in my own house. A banditti of upwards of seventy men, of the sect Tien-ly, violated the prohibited gate, and entered withinside; they wounded the guard, and rushed into the inner palace. Four rebels were seized and bound; three others ascended the wall with a flag. My imperial second son seized a matchlock and shot two of them; my nephew killed the third. For this deliverance I am indebted to the energies of my second son.”

About eight miles to the north-west of Peking are the gardens, or rather the park, of Yuen-ming-yuen, which Mr. Barrow (who spent his time between that place and Peking) estimates at an extent of twelve square miles. As the face of the country on this side of Peking begins to rise towards the Great Wall, the diversity of hill and dale has afforded some natural facilities for embellishment, which have been improved by art. According to the description of the fore-mentioned writer, the landscape is diversified with woodlands and lawns, among which are numerous canals, rivulets, and sheets of water, the banks of which have been thrown up in an apparently fortuitous manner in imitation of the free hand of nature. Some parts are cultivated, and others left purposely wild; and wherever pleasure-houses are erected, the views appear to have been studied. It is said that within the enclosure of these gardens there exist no less than thirty distinct places of residence for the emperor and his numerous suite of ministers, eunuchs, and servants, each constituting a considerable village. The principal hall of audience, seen by Mr. Barrow, stood upon a platform of granite four feet high, and was surrounded by a sort of peristyle of large wooden columns, which supported the roof. The length of the hall within was one hundred and ten feet, the breadth forty-two, and the height twenty. The floor

was paved with slabs of grey marble laid checkerwise, and the throne, made entirely of carved wood, placed in a recess. The only furniture of the hall were a pair of brass kettle-drums, two large paintings, two pairs of ancient blue porcelain vases, a few volumes of manuscripts, and a table placed at one end of the hall, on which stood an old English chimney-clock, made in the seventeenth century.

It was at a place called Hae-tien, in the immediate vicinity of these gardens, that the strange scene occurred which terminated in the dismissal of the embassy of 1816. On his arrival there, about daylight in the morning, with the commissioners and a few other gentlemen, the ambassador was drawn to one of the emperor's temporary residences by an invitation from Duke Ho, as he was called, the imperial relative charged with the conduct of the negotiations. After passing through an open court, where were assembled a vast number of mandarins in their dresses of ceremony, they were shown into a wretched room, and soon encompassed by a well-dressed crowd, among whom were princes of the blood by dozens, wearing yellow girdles. With a childish and unmannerly curiosity, consistent enough with the idle and disorderly life which many of them are said to lead, they examined the persons and dress of the gentlemen without ceremony; while these, tired with their sleepless journey, and disgusted at the behaviour of the celestials, turned their backs upon them, and laid themselves down to rest. Duke Ho soon appeared, and surprised the ambassador by urging him to proceed directly to an audience of the emperor, who was waiting for him. His lordship in vain remonstrated that to-morrow had been fixed for the first audience, and that, tired and dusty as they all were at present, it would be worthy neither of the emperor nor himself to wait on his majesty in a manner so unprepared. He urged, too, that he was unwell, and required immediate rest. Duke Ho became more and more pressing, and at length forgot *himself so far as to grasp the ambassador's arm vio-*

lently, and one of the others stepped up at the same time. His lordship immediately shook them off, and the gentlemen crowded about him; while the highest indignation was expressed at such treatment, and a determined resolution to proceed to no audience this morning. The ambassador at length retired, with the appearance of satisfaction, on the part of Duke Ho, that the audience should take place to-morrow. There is every reason, however, to suppose that this person had been largely bribed by the heads of the Canton local government to frustrate the views of the embassy, and prevent an audience of the emperor. The mission, at least, was on its way back in the afternoon of the same day.

The previous embassy of Lord Macartney, in 1793, attended the emperor's court at Jě-ho (sometimes written Zhehol), or "the hot-springs," at some distance north of the Great Wall, in Manchow Tartary. The elevation of this place, at some thousand feet above the plain in which Peking is situated, renders it a cool summer retreat during the excessive heats which prevail at the capital. The gardens and residences of the emperor, though considerable, are described as inferior in extent to those of Yuen-ming-yuen. Still, however, the accommodation of such a suite as the sovereign carries with him, requires a town in itself. Peking, in fact, is chiefly supported throughout its vast bounds by the residence of the court and the supreme government. Being neither a seaport nor a place naturally suited to inland trade and manufactures, it derives nearly its whole importance from being the dwelling-place of the "Son of Heaven."

His vast establishments are chiefly supported by the surplus revenue, both in money and stores, remitted by the way of the grand canal from the provinces.\* An imperial relative of the first rank receives, according to P. Serra,† 10,000 taëls annually from the ex-

\* It is this that makes the southern entrance of the canal so valuable a point to a hostile squadron.

† *Royal Asiatic Trans.* vol. iii.



er, with a large allowance of rice, and as many as a hundred and more servants. As the multiplication of these expensive idlers would soon ruin the government, their rank descends by one degree in each generation, until after five descents their heirs are reduced to the simple privilege of wearing the yellow robe, with a bare subsistence. From this degradation a few have been excepted by especial favour, as it happened to a grandson of Kien-loong, to whom that emperor granted the first grade for ten lives. These are reduced to the state of a *wáng* of the first rank is 60,000 taëls, or 20,000% annually; and this diminishes through the several grades down to the simple holders of the yellow girdle, who receive only three months' salary, and two sacks of rice. But they are reduced to 100 taëls when they marry, and 120 for a second marriage; from which (says Serra) they take occasion to treat their wives, because, when they have one, they receive the allowance for her interest, as well as the dowry of the new wife, whom they take immediately! In 1825 appeared the following order from the emperor:—"The *Wáng* (or Prince) Chunshan has presented to us a petition, engaging our imperial favour in the advance of some salaries, wherewithal he may be enabled to repair the tombs of his family. We permit to be added to him the amount of his money allowances for the years ensuing, and direct that his pay be deducted until the whole shall be repaid."

The title of *Wáng* is the one by which the Chinese emperor styles the sovereign of England, whose representative (consistently enough with such a broad definition) is expected to beat his head nine times on the ground, on being admitted to the presence of the universal monarch!

At Peking chiefly, and in its neighbourhood, the privileges of Tartars, in contradistinction to the Chinese, are most broadly marked, and most openly admitted. It must be sufficiently clear to a sagacious observer, as that of the Manchows has always

proved itself, that, being so enormously outnumbered by the original inhabitants of China, the wisest policy must be to display a tolerable partiality in the administration of the provinces, and especially the distant ones. An examination of the Chinese red-book gave the following results :—Of the *eight* viceroys, having each two provinces, or one of the largest, under his sway, there are no less than *six* Chinese ; and of the *fifteen* lieutenant-governors, *ten* are Chinese. On the other hand, the highest and most responsible military commands are always entrusted to Manchows. The probability is, that the genius of the Chinese is better adapted to fitting themselves for civil offices, for which the qualification is an adequate proficiency in that learning which is entirely founded on the ancient literature of the country ; while, for military commands, the Manchows are not only more likely to prove faithful to the present dynasty, but at the same time are better suited by nature and education. In the neighbourhood of the capital, very distinct ideas of local claims and jurisdictions appear to be entertained by the Tartars. When Lord Macartney had passed just to the north of the Great Wall, on his way to *Jê-ho*, one of the attendants, who was a Tartar, having been ordered for punishment by a Chinese mandarin, immediately resisted with great vehemence, exclaiming against the authority of the latter on that side of the national barrier.

The strict system of police, by which such an immense population is kept in due order, is essentially the same through the different cities and towns of the empire. Its efficiency arises in a great measure from the principle of *responsibility*, which forms so marked a feature of Chinese rule, and is carried among them to an extent quite beyond our notions of equity. Every town is divided into tithings of ten houses, and these are combined into wards of one hundred ; or, as the Chinese term it, “ten houses make a *hoo*, ten *hoo* make a *paou*,” or hundred. The magistrate is responsible for his whole district, the hundreder and tithing-

ch for his respective charge, and the house-  
 for the conduct of his family. From this gra-  
 of authority all strangers and foreigners are  
 excluded. So summary is the mode in which  
 acts of the police are effected, that it is no light  
 to be once in their hands. The Chinese em-  
 ally express their sense of this unfortunate con-  
 by the popular phrase, "The meat is on the  
 ng-block."

gates of all Chinese towns are shut soon after it  
 ; when the first watch is sounded by a huge  
 drum, in some commanding station. At the  
 every principal street is a strong barrier of tim-  
 ich is closed at the same time with the princi-  
 es. These are only opened to such as can give  
 actory reason for their being allowed to pass,  
 eing out at night ; as, for instance, to call a  
 : on a sudden emergency. Every one is ex-  
 to carry a lantern, and is punished for being  
 outhout it. When the particular watch of the  
 as been indicated by a certain number of  
 on the drum or bell at the principal station,  
 nswered by all the rest ; and a police soldier  
 rom one *corps de garde* to another, repeating  
 nber of the watch (and thereby marking the  
 night), by striking two hollow bamboos to

great jealousy with which the personal safety  
 emperor is provided for at Peking renders the  
 very strict in regard to all access to the im-  
 palace and its neighbourhood. It has been  
 served, that the subjects of a despot are amply  
 d by the fears in which such regulations ori-  
 According to the penal code, "In all cases of  
 who have lived within the jurisdiction of the  
 l city being condemned to die by the sentence  
 aw, their families, and all persons whatsoever  
 ided under the same roof with them, shall re-  
 uthwith." The principal duty of the military  
 s is to perform the office of a police ; and

it must be admitted that, by the aid of the un-  
system of responsibility, there is no count  
world in which a more efficient police ex-  
there. Not being very scrupulous as to th  
the government generally contrives in som  
other to accomplish its ends; and occasiona  
up for its own weakness by the policy of its  
When the pirates at the commencement of th  
Tartar dynasty ravaged the coasts of the  
provinces, the want of a force to oppose the  
water rendered active measures impossible.  
vernment, therefore, offered no active resista  
merely obliged the inhabitants of the coast  
thirty *ly*, or about three leagues, inland,—a p  
proved perfectly successful.

European residents in China have genera  
that their property has been as secure from v  
vasion as it could be in any other country of tl  
and in one or two instances, where flagran  
robbery combined with murder have occu  
efficiency of the police has proved, in a ve  
and remarkable manner, that the governmen  
only willing, but able to do them summar  
In 1816, the American ship *Wabash*, having  
board, came to an anchor off Macao, and bein  
by a very small number of hands, was sudden  
by a boatful of desperate Chinese, who, co  
board under pretence of offering their services  
stabbed those who were on deck, or forced t  
the water; and then, confining the remain  
crew to the forepart of the vessel, plundered  
the opium. When the fact was represented to  
government, whose horror of piratical violer  
treme, such prompt and effective measures w  
for the discovery of the ruffians, that they wer  
them caught and condemned to death, and th  
exposed in cages on the rocks near Macao as  
to others.

But the case of the French ship *Navigateur*  
was still more remarkable, and may be giv

n the relation of M. Laplace, captain of the steen-gun corvette *La Favorite*, whose observations on the Chinese we have had occasion to quote in their place. The *Navigateur*, a merchantman, was compelled by stress of weather to put into Touron Bay on the coast of Cochin-China. The disabled state of the ship, the difficulty of effecting the necessary repairs, and the well-known unfriendliness of the local authorities, forced the captain and crew to the necessity of selling her to the King of Cochin-China, and marking themselves with their most valuable effects aboard a Chinese junk, which was engaged to carry them to Macao. The voyage was short, but still long enough to enable the crew of the junk to conceive and execute a dreadful conspiracy against the Frenchmen. It was in vain that one of the oldest of the Chinese savoured by signs to draw the attention of the rich captain to the danger which threatened him; he had contented himself with making one of his sailors keep watch by day, as well as during the night; but this charge was the more negligently executed, inasmuch as most of the people, in consequence of their previous sufferings, had to contend with fever or dysentery.

The junk was already within sight of the great Laysan island, the mark by which Macao is made in the southerly monsoon, and the Chinese passengers embarked at once into boats, with an eagerness which ought to have roused the suspicions of the Europeans, had they not been blinded by the most implicit confidence. The night passed quietly, and the dawn of light seemed to promise a happy landing for the Frenchmen; but it was destined to witness their massacre. These unfortunate men, the greater number of whom were asleep, were despatched with hatchets and knives by the crew of the junk; and their captain, assailed by assassins in the narrow cabin which he occupied with his mates, after killing several of the Chinese, fell himself the last. One seaman, however, still remained, who, armed with an iron bar, continued to make a despe-

rate resistance, although badly wounded in. Having reached the deck of the vessel, almost come as he was in this unequal conflict, he fell into the sea, and appeared in this manner to meet his certain death, impunity to the murder.

He contrived, notwithstanding, to swim to a small fishing-boat, but was denied succour, with the selfish prudence of the Chinese; another boat, however, afterwards received him on board, and he remained there by night on the shore at Macao. Wounded as he was, the poor man wandered for some time about the streets, but at length he reached the abode of the French missionaries, who with ready humanity relieved him at once from his immediate wants. In the meanwhile the French ship had arrived from Canton, and the affair being brought to the notice of the Portuguese authorities at Macao, was placed by them in the hands of the Chinese mandarins. By means of the information obtained from the French sailor, the Chinese police who had quitted the junk previous to the escape, and repaired in all haste to their respective homes, were summoned to Canton. From them was obtained a full evidence as to the criminals, and then a strict embargo was at once laid on all traffic within the ports of Canton and the neighbourhood of Fokien.

The assassins being soon arrested in their journey, were put into iron cages, and conveyed to Canton for trial and judgment. On their arrival there, it was by the emperor's strict order, that the trial and judgment should take place in the presence of the English plenipotentiaries at that place. Among the English plenipotentiaries was the interpreter of the East India Company, Mr. Morrison, the author of the Chinese Dictionary. His labours have been so useful towards illustrating the literature of the country, and who was desired on this occasion to experience a very gratifying result for his pains in acquiring the language. His talents having been attracted by the loud complaints

who, like the others, was shut up in a cage on bars, and who, in protesting his innocence, for the French sailor whose life he had contrived to save, Dr. Morrison approached the old man, heard what he had to say, and promised him assistance with the judges. In a word, accompanied by the Frenchman, he presented himself before the mandarins, pleaded the cause of his client, and on their recollection that maxim of Chinese philosophy of humanity in general, that "it is better to let the guilty escape than to punish the innocent." He obtained the consent of the court that the accused should be confronted with the accused; and at the first sight of each other, immediately emotion and shed tears, to the great interest and sympathy of the audience. The judges themselves yielded to the general sentiment, and at once absolved the old man, but of twenty-four prisoners, seventeen were executed and decapitated at once, and their chief met a lingering death in presence of the Euro-

pean Laplace has made a great mistake in supposing that, when Dr. Morrison enunciated to the mandarins that merciful and wise maxim which contrived to save the man's life, he told them anything they had never before heard. We could prove by chapter and verse, that the precept is perfectly well known to the Chinese, however grossly it has been violated by them in several cases where they have *unintentionally* caused the death of

It is, in fact, this knowledge of what is right and natural practice that makes the conduct of the Chinese government towards foreign homicides so perfectly justifiable, and renders it not only excusable, but imperative in Europeans to resist the execution, not only as a matter of law, but of illegality. Were they treated like us on these occasions, and according to the distinct provisions of the Chinese penal code, it might be difficult to make out a right to oppose the laws of the country in which they sojourn. But, as a just and

equal administration of those laws to native foreigners must always be the necessary condition of submission on the part of the latter, the injustice and partiality of the local government prived it of the right to complain, if European cases of *accidental* homicide, refuse to deliver countrymen to be strangled without a trial, only the mockery of one.

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## CHAPTER XII.

## CITIES—NANKING AND CANTON.

WH the circuit of the ancient walls of Nanking that of the present capital of China, it has already stated that the larger portion of the area is either a waste, or consists of fields in a state of incultivation. The last embassy had an opportunity of visiting it in 1816, having been detained in the immediate neighbourhood for about two days, from the 22nd to the 23rd October. The opportunity was improved to the utmost, and the liberty with which we were enabled to satisfy our curiosity received some additional consequence of an accident, wherein the conduct of the ambassador was exercised with a beneficial effect.

After the fleet of boats which conveyed the mission reached the suburbs of Nanking, on that great river, the Kiang, which flows a few miles to the north of the old capital, the ambassador was induced, at the request of some gentlemen of the mission, who had already explored a portion of the interior of the city without any objection being made, to visit the city gate on the north-west side. On reaching it, accompanied by a mandarin of subordinate rank, on horseback, with a pack of Chinese soldiers after him, he suddenly closed the gates in the face of the mission. In return for this rudeness to the principal of the mission, the individual who had caused the gates to be shut was requested to open them again, but he declared that on no other condition would he permit the ambassador to quit the spot. The underling, however, who had committed the offence, showed no disposition to repair it, but took his departure in an im-

puident style. His excellency, on this, requested to individuals of his suite, of whom the writer was one, proceed as fast as possible to the imperial legate, who acted as conductor to the embassy, and, complaining formally of the insult which had been offered him, require that reparation should be instantly made. We were very civilly received on board the Kinchar boat, who, when we had explained the nature of the offence, immediately said that the person who had been guilty of it must be out of his wits, and sent once to the highest military officer in the neighbourhood, to desire that he would go and see the gate re-opened instantly. We in the meanwhile walked back to rejoin the ambassador, accompanied by a very fat and asthmatic mandarin, of the Order of the Blue Button, who had much ado to keep up with our rapid pace. On our reaching the gate, the Chinese general who had been despatched by the legate, presently arrived; and, apologizing for the folly of the officer, caused the gates to be re-opened. The ambassador expressed himself satisfied, and declined entering the gate, telling the general and the rest that he was sorry they should have had so much trouble.

A large assembled crowd had witnessed the transaction, and it evidently had a very favourable effect on their conduct, which became more civil than ordinary. In the course of the same day several gentlemen were allowed not only to pass the gate, but to proceed as far as they pleased into the interior; and, from a high wooded hill within the wall, could see the modern town to the south, which occupies barely a third of the immense area. The ancient name of *Nanking* (the southern capital) is still in common use, but no longer admitted in official documents, wherein it is styled *Keang-ning-foo*, a city of the first order, but still merely the chief town of a province. The porcelain tower of Nanking (which, however, is porcelain in nothing but its tiles) was a conspicuous object in the distance, and tempted some of the party to undertake a walk to the modern town to inspect it. They reached the suburb

without interruption; but the vast and dense crowd which presently surrounded them made it imprudent to persevere, and they were obliged to give up the principal object of their excursion. It was satisfactory, however, to have gained even this insight into the present condition of the ancient capital of China, which had never been visited by a former embassy. The following is from an unpublished journal of Sir George Staunton on the same occasion:—

“The view from the summit of the hill (within the gate) certainly well rewarded us for the labour of the ascent, and was a perfect panorama. On one side, and, as it were, beneath our feet, lay the suburb which we had just quitted: the noble stream of the Yang-tse-keang, with its several branches, or rather subdivisions, and beyond them the pagoda of the city of Foo-keu-hien, and a distant range of hills in the horizon. On the other side was a beautiful vale of many leagues in extent, the whole of which, with several lesser eminences within its enceinte, is included within the ancient boundaries of the imperial city. We could trace with the eye, assisted by a telescope, nearly the whole circuit of the walls; but within the vast space which they enclosed we looked almost in vain for the habitations of men, or any traces of the former populousness of this ancient capital of China. Even the very ruins and vestiges of the buildings which we are led to conclude must formerly have filled this space have disappeared; and at present clumps of trees, orchards, cultivated fields, and gardens, and a few scattered farm-houses occupy their places. At a distance, indeed, beyond an elevated ridge to the westward, we could perceive that a part of the valley was overhung with a cloud of smoke, which partially disclosed a few considerable buildings, and no doubt arose from that portion of the city which continues to be inhabited. We could distinguish pretty clearly the roofs of two or three buildings resembling temples, two arched gateways, and three pagodas, one of which, from its superior size and stateliness, and its proximity

to the river, we immediately concluded to be the famous porcelain tower, and in this opinion we were confirmed by our Chinese conductors."

The desolation which took place in this ancient seat of the native sovereigns may no doubt be ascribed to the Tartar conquerors, who demolished the imperial palace, and even the sepulchres, in the rage of war. Much, however, may be attributed to another reason, which sufficiently explains why, except the Great Wall, there are few ancient monuments in China. Their edifices are far from being of a solid construction, the columns being in most cases of wood, and the climate throughout the country subject to the greatest vicissitudes of moisture and dryness, as well as of heat and cold. The nine-storied buildings called pagodas, being of good solid brick-work, are among the most lasting. That of Nanking is at the head of these monuments, which are of a religious nature, and, like the steeples of churches, were at first attached to temples. Several still remain with the religious establishments to which they belong, besides the one at Nanking, a printed representation of which, with a description attached, was purchased by some of the embassy while in the neighbourhood. Its dimensions are nearly two hundred feet in height, the ground-plan being octagonal, and the spiral staircase built through the solid part of the wall, which surrounds a hollow space in the centre that is carried to the summit of the building. In niches at the sides of the stair are placed images of Budh, or of the goddess Kuân-yin.

Nanking, being situated in lat.  $32^{\circ} 4'$ , the excellence of the climate, joined to its proximity to the great Keang, and the canal, still renders it a populous place with a very considerable trade, however fallen from its former splendour. Besides its silk manufactures and the cotton cloth which takes its name, the Chinese highly esteem the paper and the squares of ink which are made here. The pithy substance, in England vulgarly called rice-paper, is likewise prepared in the



[Nine-storied Pagoda.]

neighbourhood from a leguminous plant called *Thaï tsaou*, which, like the rush, inhabits marshy places. When the pirate Koshinga ravaged the eastern coast he sailed easily up the mouth of the Keang to Nanking; and there is reason to suppose that to a European fleet it would be one of the most vulnerable parts of the empire, as the canal opens into the great river, a little below the city towards the sea. To blockade at once the mouth of the canal and of the Yang-tse-keang, could scarcely fail to distress the empire, and especially Peking, which is fed by supplies from the southern provinces.

Nanking stands pretty nearly midway between Peking and Canton, the two most important extremes of China on the north and south. Notwithstanding the very considerable difference of climate which must be produced by no less than seventeen degrees of latitude, the general character of the cities and towns throughout the empire, and of the houses which they contain, is surprisingly uniform. The most striking features are the lowness of the houses, and the narrowness of the streets, which are usually paved with flag-stones, and calculated only for the passage of people on foot, or of those who are carried in sedan chairs. The way is sometimes crossed by those triple gateways of an ornamental structure, which have been improperly styled triumphal *arches*, but which are of a square construction, and appear to have been usually erected to the memory of individuals celebrated for their talents or virtues. Another species of memorial, of the same kind, is a large stone slab called *Shē-pae*, being about eight feet in height, two in breadth, and half a foot in thickness, covered with inscriptions, which record some honour conferred by the emperor, or the merit of some eminent person. These are always erected perpendicularly on the figure of a tortoise, of the same stone from which the slab is cut.

The portion of Canton in which the European factories are situated, being a mere suburb, does not



contain any of the decorations above described ; but the arrangement and architecture of the streets and shops is precisely the same as within the walls of the city. The shops are commonly quite open towards the street,—that is, those appropriated to Chinese customers ; for the few streets devoted to European trade are rather on a different plan, the shops being of a closer structure, and less exposed to external observation. The several streets are commonly devoted to distinct trades. There is *Carpenter-street*, or rather square, as it is carried round a parallelogram ; *Curiosity-street* (as the English call it) is devoted to the sale of antiques, real and factitious ; and *Apothecary-street* is full of druggists' shops, the drawers in which are neatly arranged and lettered, but filled principally with simples. By the side of each shop is suspended from on high a huge ornamental label of wood, varnished and gilded, on which are inscribed the particular calling of the tenant, and the goods in which he deals. This label being hung like the sign of one of our inns, with its *edge* towards the street, and inscribed on both sides, can be read by all who approach the shop in either direction ; and the vista of these numerous variegated sign-boards, glittering with gold and varnish, gives to the better streets a very gay appearance.

The inscriptions in the shops are sometimes amusing, and at the same time highly characteristic of the keenness and industry of the people as traders. We have seen the following:—"Gossiping and long sitting injure business." "Former customers have inspired caution—no credit given." "A small stream always flowing." "Goods genuine, prices true." "Trade circling like a wheel," &c. Either the police must be very good, or the populace tolerably abstemious ; for some of the shops, which are pretty richly supplied, appear to be much exposed towards the street. But the inhabitants of each division generally combine into a system of watch and ward for the common protection ; and, during the night, the streets

are closed at each end by doors, which are guarded by the regular police. Commissioner Lin made a complete revolution in the streets adjoining the European factories during the year 1839, converting these into a sort of prison by blocking up several of the principal thoroughfares, and leaving but one or two outlets. In this manner the foreigners could be shut up and starved at the shortest notice, and their condition was rendered quite as degrading as that of the Dutch at Nagasaki in Japan. Yet the Americans found trade profitable under these circumstances.

The principal shops connected with European and American trade are those occupied by dealers in silks, lackered and carved ware, and all those smaller articles that are not restricted to the Hong merchants, who have the *exclusive* privilege of trading in tea, cotton, and other chief commodities. When the latter feel occasionally inclined to push their monopoly beyond its established limits, and to encroach on the sufficiently narrow trade of the shopmen, these usually combine for the purpose of opposing them with some chance of success. At the close of 1834, the Hong merchants showed a disposition to exercise the whole weight of their exclusive privileges against the English free-trade, and even to *add* to them by depriving the shopmen of their accustomed dealings. A considerable ferment was created among the latter, which gave rise to a species of trades' unions, composed of manufacturers and dealers, who combined to plague the Hong merchants and petition the government, and succeeded, at length, in retaining such portion of the trade as they had before possessed.

The silk-weavers and dealers are much in the habit of forming combinations to maintain the rules of their trade, and the prices of work as well as goods. The forfeit for violating the laws of the combination is, to be at the sole expense of a dramatic exhibition, which lasts for three days, and to pay half the value of the commodity sold contrary to rule, for the support of the tradesmen's hall, of which there is generally



one in every principal city, belonging to each wealthy *corporation* of traders, if they may be so termed. The embassy of 1816 observed at Kan-chow-foo, a principal city of Keang-sy province, that by far the most considerable buildings were the commercial halls, belonging to the associated merchants and dealers. The principal room in the exchange of the green-tea merchants (who pass by this on their way to Canton) was named *Hychun Tung*, or "Hyson hall." In the appropriation of these edifices, observes a private journal of the embassy, there is a singular combination of religious with commercial objects. They generally contain a temple of Budh, or some local divinity, and at the same time are used as an exchange, and house of entertainment and lodging, for the society of merchants to whom they belong.

The worshipful corporation of silkmen of Canton, having been of opinion in 1833 that some of their fraternity had been unfairly dealt with by an American, in a contract for silk piece-goods, forthwith exhibited a rather amusing placard against him. "In conducting commercial transactions (said the paper) the Chinese and foreigners are generally the same; in buying and selling with justice and equity there is no difference between them. When the goods are delivered, the money is immediately paid; there are no perverse difficulties made, nor cutting deductions inflicted. But there is now living in the Swedish factory, No. 2, an American devil, named *Hot*,\* to whom a wolfish voracity has become nature. He monopolizes silks and various goods for the Americans. A gluttonous avarice fills his heart. There is long procrastination and money unpaid,—contracting for *much* and then requiring *little*; with the concealed and villanous intention of picking and choosing. He would point at a *gem*, and call it a *stone*,† and then advance to administer the deadly potion of cutting

\* Chinese corruption of the real name.

† Figuratively.

down the price! And, again, when the time of payment arrived, he would enforce discounts. He scraped and peeled off from the trader both skin and fat. \*\*\*\* He, knowing that when the goods were once prepared there was none to take them but himself, forced his reduction upon us, and the Chinese brokers likewise servilely complied with his wish, joining and assisting in his wickedness; so that we have been torn by the wolf, and swallowed by the whale! We have become fish and flesh to him—our property is wasted without a return—all our hearts unite in detesting him; and therefore we have issued this song of our discontent. All the weavers of satin, silk, and crape publicly unite in the above declaration."

The greatest risk to which the houses and shops of Canton are exposed is that of fires, which in frequent instances are not the results of mere accident. The Chinese have very generally adopted the use of our engines, which they themselves occasionally manufacture sufficiently well to answer the purpose. The foolish notion of fatalism which prevails among the people makes them singularly careless as regards fire, and the frequent recurrence of accidents has no effect upon them, although the fearful conflagration of 1822 went far to destroy the whole city. When the dry northerly winds of the winter season have set in, the viceroy annually issues a notice to the people, calling on them to beware of the acts of incendiaries, who purposely set fire to buildings with a view to rob and plunder in the confusion: and that there is sufficient ground for the apprehension seems proved by the fact, that fires break out most frequently at the season when they are most likely to spread, and most difficult to extinguish.

Vagabonds and beggars are very numerous in Canton, but not more so than in many large cities of Europe. In all cases of dislocation, fracture, or diseased limbs, the ignorance of anatomy, and abhorrence of amputation, render some of the cripples very pitiable, as well as disgusting objects. They have no levy

of rates for the poor, but some small charitable institutions, which "are few in number and small in extent," according to the observation of the writer in a lately printed description of the city of Canton, published at that place. The following account of them is from the same little work:—1 The "foundling hospital" stands without the walls of the city, on the east. It has accommodations for two or three hundred children, and is maintained at an annual expense of 2522 taëls, or about 840*l*. 2. *Yangtse-yuen* is a retreat for poor aged and infirm, or blind people, who have no friends to support them. It stands near the foundling hospital, and, like it, enjoys imperial patronage, receiving annually 5100 taëls. These sums are chiefly derived from the foreign ships that bring rice to Canton. 3. *Ma-foong-yuen*, a hospital for lepers, is also on the east of the city. The number of patients in it exceeds 300, and these are said to be maintained on 300 taëls a-year! The situation of lepers is peculiarly wretched in China, as they become outcasts from society, and from their families, from the first appearance of the disease. The object is probably to prevent its propagation.

The best maintenance of the poor, and the best provision for the due distribution of wealth, consists in the manner in which both law and custom enforce among them the claims of kindred. Public opinion considers it the duty of well-conditioned relatives to support or assist those who are allied to them by consanguinity, and the state refuses to maintain those who can work for themselves, or have friends able to relieve them. The attention bestowed by the Chinese on their deceased ancestors, and the prevalence of clanship, or extensive societies claiming a common descent, give to the lower orders some of that feeling which in England belongs only to persons of family, out which has characterized the Scotch people very generally. The natives of Canton province, and of

Fokien, are the most remarkable in China of the extent to which this feeling of clanship is carried, and for the inconveniences to which it gives rise. In Fokien two clans fell out in this manner in 1817. The name of one was *Thae*, and of the other *Wang*, and a gathering of each having taken place, they fought until many were killed and a number of houses destroyed by fire. The police seized the most violent; but the weaker clan again attacked the other, and killed several of them, until the government called in the military to restore order. The Chinese even carry this feeling abroad with them. Their skill as cultivators has occasioned some hundreds to be employed at St. Helena, and when Sir Hudson Lowe was governor of that island, he informed the writer that two clans from different provinces of China, having quarrelled in 1812, met together to have a battle royal. A sergeant's party turned out to quell the disturbance; but the stronger side, running up the side of one of the steep ravines, began to roll down stones, while the weaker one joined the soldiers, who were at length compelled to fire in their own defence, by which several Chinese were killed, and order soon restored.

But the fraternities which are most dreaded by the government of China are those secret associations, under various mysterious names, which combine for purposes either religious or political, or perhaps both together. Of the first description, the sect of the "Water-lily" (a sacred plant) and that of the "Incense-burners," are both denounced in the 7th section of the Shing-yu; and with them is confounded the Roman Catholic worship under the same prohibition. The present weak state of the government renders it particularly jealous of all secret societies whatever, as well as cruel and unrelenting in punishing their leaders. But the chief object of its dread and persecution is the *San-hô-hoey*, or Triad Society, of which some description was given in 1823 by Dr. Milne. The name seems to imply that when *Heaven, Earth, and Man* combine to favour them, they shall succeed.

in subverting the present Tartar dynasty, and that, in the meanwhile, every exertion is to be used to mature that event.

In October, 1828, a paper, of which the following is an exact translation, was found in the Protestant burial-ground at Macao, by a gentleman of the Company's service, who, understanding the meaning of it, sent the production immediately to the mandarin of the district, with whom he happened to be acquainted, and who entreated that the matter might not be made public, as he should be severely punished for the mere discovery of such a seditious paper within his district:—

"Vast was the central nation—flourishing the heavenly dynasty,  
A thousand regions sent tribute—ten thousand nations did homage;  
But the Tartars obtained it by fraud—and this grudge can never be assuaged.  
Enlist soldiers, procure horses—display aloft the flowery standard,  
Raise troops and seize weapons—let us exterminate the Manchow race."

Dr. Milne's account of the *Triad Society*, whose nature and objects he took some pains to investigate, is so curious as to deserve particular notice. The name of this association means, "the Society of the Three united," that is, of Heaven, Earth, and Man, which, according to the imperfect notions and expressions of Chinese philosophy, imply *the three departments of Nature*. There is a well-known Chinese cyclopædia, arranged under these three heads. In the reign of Kea-king, about the commencement of the present century, the Triad Society, under another name, spread itself rapidly through the provinces, and had nearly succeeded in overturning the government. In 1803 its machinations were frustrated, and the principal leaders seized and put to death, the official reports stating to the emperor that "not a single member of that rebellious fraternity was left alive." But the fact was otherwise, for they still existed, and

with a view to secrecy, adopted the name which they at present bear.

The objects of the association appear at first to have been allied to something like freemasonry, and to have aimed simply at mutual aid and assistance; but as the numbers increased, their views degenerated from the laudable ends of reciprocal benefit to violence and robbery, the overthrow of government, and the acquisition of political power by the expulsion of the Tartar dynasty. In foreign colonies, as at Batavia, Sincapore, and Malacca, the real or pretended branches of the association exist, and their objects are mutual defence, as well as plunder and other dishonesty. They engage to defend each other from the attacks of police-officers, and to assist members of their society in escaping from justice. If any one feels himself injured, the others take part in his quarrel and help him to revenge himself. Still the *professed* design is merely benevolent, as appears from their motto, which is a distich with this meaning:—

“ The blessings mutually share,  
The woe reciprocally bear.”

The management of the combination is vested in three persons, who are denominated *ko*, elder brethren, in the same manner that freemasons style each other “brothers.” Of their internal discipline, Dr. Milne could obtain little information. The Society’s regulations are said to be written for greater security on cloth, which, on any emergency, may be thrown into a well, or otherwise concealed for a time.

The ceremony of initiation is said to take place at night. The oath of secrecy is taken before an idol, and a sum of money given to support the general expense. There is likewise a ceremony called *ko-keou*, “passing the bridge,” which bridge is formed of swords, either laid between two tables, or else set up on the hilts and meeting at the points, in form of an arch. The persons who receive the oath take it under this bridge, and the *ye-ko*, or chief brother, reads

the articles of the oath, to each of which an affirmative response is given by the new member, after which he cuts off the head of a cock, which is the usual form of a Chinese oath, intimating, "Thus perish all who divulge the secret." Some of the marks by which they make themselves known to each other consist of mystical numbers, of which the chief is the number *three*. Certain motions of the fingers constitute a class of signs. To discover if one of the fraternity is in company, a brother will take up his teacup, or its cover, in a particular way with three fingers, and this will be answered by a corresponding sign. They have a common seal, consisting of a pentagonal figure, in which are inscribed certain characters in a sense understood only by the initiated.

Except in their dangerous or dishonest principles, the *San-hô-hoey* bear a considerable resemblance to the society of Freemasons. They even pretend to carry their origin back to remote antiquity under another name. The members swear at their initiation to be fraternal and benevolent, which corresponds with the engagement of the freemasons. Another point of resemblance is in the ceremonies of initiation, in the oath and the solemnity of its administration. These are so striking as to merit the attention of such as deem the history of freemasonry worthy of investigation. Dr. Milne goes on to observe that the signs, particularly the use of the fingers, as far as is known or conjectured, appear to bear a resemblance. "Some have affirmed (says he) that the great secret of freemasonry consists in the words 'liberty and equality,' and if so, certainly the term *heung-te* (brethren) of the Triad Society may be explained as implying the same idea. Whether there exist anything in the shape of odges in the *San-hô-hoey*, the writer has no means of ascertaining, but he believes the Chinese law is too rigorous against this body to admit of any; nor does here appear to be a partiality for the masonic employment." Branches of this association have spread over most of the islands and settlements in the Malay

archipelago. They have sometimes impeded the execution of our laws at Singapore against Chinese culprits, and the rapid increase of that portion of the population may hereafter render them dangerous, unless the most summary measures are adopted for their suppression.

The cautious policy of the government of China, ever on the watch to prevent the possibility of political associations under a religious exterior, allows no temples or other institutions of that kind to be erected that are not strictly orthodox, or which come not either within the Confucian doctrine, or the tolerated sects of Fô and Taou. In 1824 the emperor issued this edict:—"To delude the people with unorthodox opinions is a great contravention of the laws. According to the report of the censor, a fane has again been erected to the superstition of Woo-tung, at a place three miles to the west of Soo-chow-foo. In the reign of K'ang-hy the fane was destroyed, and the idols burnt, and for a long series of years the superstition has been suppressed; but the sacrifices are now offered as before. The witches place a pretended confidence in the predictions of the spirits, and promise a fulfilment of hopes and desires." This was in fact an *oracle*, such as the weakness of human nature has given rise to in many other countries. The emperor goes on to say, "Let not the simple people be permitted to offer sacrifices or to associate with the votaries of the superstition. Let the magistrates issue instructions to the heads of families to exercise a rigid control over their dependents. Let the whole system of false worship, calculated only to delude the uninstructed populace, with its burning of incense, and collection of subscriptions, be followed up, whenever it is detected, with severe punishment, in order that the public morals may be preserved, and the minds of men set right."

The description of the city of Canton, already referred to, gives a short account of the principal licensed temples, which may be considered as samples of what are to be found in most other cities of the



empire. "The Kuángheou-tse, or temple of 'resplendent filial duty,' is one of the largest, and stands within the walls, near the north-west corner of the city. It is endowed with a considerable quantity of land for the support of its priests or inmates, who amount to 200 in number, and is said to have been built as long ago as the period of the 'Three Kingdoms,' A.D. 250. Another temple, having attached to it a lofty pagoda, or minaret, is in fact a Mahomedan mosque, built (as the Chinese say) by *foreigners* in the Táng dynasty, when the Arabs traded to Canton, and still fully tolerated. The Mahomedans amount at present to as many as 3000, and are distinguished from the other inhabitants as persons who have no idols, and who will not eat swine's flesh."\*

Beside less considerable ones, there is a Buddhist establishment at Canton, about three-quarters of a mile north of the foreign factories, in the suburb beyond the city walls, which contains 100 priests, who are maintained on an annual revenue of 7000 taëls. The temple, with its grounds, occupies some acres of land, and has several spacious halls, one of which has been lately built by a son of Howqua, the

\* The Chinese observe of the Mahomedans that "the people of that nation worship heaven alone, nor is there any other being or thing to which they pay divine honours. The rich (it is said) are liberal to the poor, and all persons from other parts of the country are received as friends (alluding probably to the sacredness of hospitality among the Arabs). Their funeral rites are simple; in Canton they are buried without coffins. The shell in which the deceased is carried to the tomb has a false bottom, which draws out, and lets the corpse fall into the grave. If it fall with its face towards heaven, they regard the circumstance as an omen of future felicity; if the corpse turn with its face to the earth, it is an unhappy sign. In the times of *Chin* and *Suy* (about the seventh century) they first entered China, and afterwards came by sea to Canton. After the Yuen (Mongol) dynasty, they spread widely through the country, and now they abound everywhere.'

Hong merchant. In one part of the temple is image of Budh, and in another an idol of K the goddess who "regards the cries" of mort assists them. She is worshipped chiefly by Another very large temple and monastery of hist persuasion is to be seen on the opposite the river, nearly fronting the European factori a particular description and plan of this must served to illustrate the sect of Fö, under the *Religions*.

Among other temples, Canton, and indeed principal city, contains one to the majesty a life of the emperor, under the title of Wä Koong, or the "Hall of ten thousand year walls and furniture of this temple are yellow, the period when the emperor's birthday oc every year, the viceroy and all the principal of government, both civil and military, assemble to pay him adoration. The solemnities practi exactly the same as when he is present. No are allowed; but every one takes with him a c on which he sits cross-legged upon the ground. embassy and mandarins did at the imperial f Tien-tsin, in 1816.\*

Among the most respectable-looking build Canton, inasmuch as the *fronts* at least are con are the foreign factories, which occupy a very extent along the bank of the river in the south ern suburb. The confined state of these, an utter inadequacy to accommodate an increased ber of traders, at the same time that the gover refuses any increase of space, is a subject whic very soon be debated with the local autho These factories, together with a large portion suburb in which they are situated, are built on a flat, which has been gained from the river, and

\* Chap. IX.

† After the above was written, they were converted complete prisons.

requently erected upon wooden piles, only just high-water mark. The heavy rains, during the years of 1833 and 1834, produced overflowings of water, which inundated the whole of the European settlements to the height of several feet on their ground-boats plied from door to door along the streets, from one European residence to another; and a scene to be cast for fish in the midst of a Hong Kong's grounds! This was succeeded, as might have been expected, by sickness among the natives and Europeans; and there can be little doubt that if inundations frequently recur, the factories, both from their cause and from their crowded state, will be uninhabitable by the large numbers who are flocking to try their fortunes at Canton. There is no remedy for these evils excepting permission to erect the factories in a more healthy situation, and out of the reach of the high tides, which never fail, during the rainy months, to inundate some portion of the settlements towards the river. The effect of this in a densely populated state must, of course, be highly noxious.

The following account of the inundation in 1833 is from the Chinese Repository, published at Canton:—On the 5th and 6th of September the tide was at its highest, being from four to five feet at the east end of the city, which are above the factories. On the night of the 5th, the weather being calm and clear, the low murmuring of the current, as it flowed on, was distinctly audible in the foreign factories. On the 7th, the water began gradually to recede, but it did not return to its ordinary level until the 16th, when the spring-tides had passed. For upwards of a week, during the continuance of the inundation, the current rushed past with such force that all business with the shipping at Whampoa entirely stopped; and even light gigs with small crews had the utmost difficulty in reaching the wharves. To describe all that has come to our knowledge of the effects of this awful visitation would far exceed our limits." The distress occasioned in the

province had a visible effect on the commerce of the European ships, as it lessened at once the demand for imports and the supply of exports. The inundations, so unprecedented in former years, are said to have been occasioned by the neglect of the government, or its inability, to repair the extensive ravages in the dikes and embankments between Canton and the high country to the north and west; and, as the floods were repeated in 1834, there is reason to fear their recurrence may be expected.

It may, perhaps, seem incredible that the whole frontage of the buildings, in which foreigners of all nations are shut up together, for the prosecution of their trading business at Canton, does not exceed between seven and eight hundred feet. Each front, of which there are about thirteen, extends backwards about a hundred and thirty yards into a long narrow lane or thoroughfare, on each side of which, as well as over arches that cross it, are the confined abodes of the English, French, Dutch, Americans, Parsees, and others. Many of these spend a large portion, if not the whole, of their lives here in the worship of Mammon, without the sight of a female face, and with no recreation but the jingling of dollars, as they are perpetually being weighed or examined by the Chinese money-changers, in receipts or payments! Many years back a considerable number of flags, as the Danish, Swedish, and Austrian, were hoisted in front of the factories, besides the English, Dutch, and American; but for the last quarter of a century these three, with the French tricolor, which was erected soon after the revolution of 1830, have been the only foreign ensigns seen there.

The European factories are called by the Chinese "the thirteen *Hongs*;" the word Hong being always used by them to denote a commercial establishment or warehouse. According to their custom, each factory is distinguished either by some appellation denoting wealth and prosperity, or by its flag. Thus the Austrian or imperial factory was called the "Two-

eagle Hong," a name which it retains to this day; the Danish, the "Yellow-flag Hong;" the Company's, "the Hong that ensures tranquillity;" the American, "the Hong of extensive fountains;" and so on. To the east of all there is a narrow inlet from the river, —a fetid ditch, which serves to surround a portion of the city wall, as well as to drain that part of the town. This is crossed with a single arch, by a narrow street at the back of the factories, that leads to the warehouses of the several Hong merchants, all of them communicating with the river by wooden or stone stairs, from which the tea and other merchandise is shipped.

The space occupied by the foreign factories is crossed by two well-known thoroughfares, one of them named China-street, and the other very appropriately dignified with the descriptive title of Hog-lane. The former is rather broader than the generality of Chinese streets, and contains the shops of the small dealers in carved and lackered ware, silks, and other articles in common demand by strangers. These are attracted to the several shops by inscriptions in the European character, which sometimes promise more than they perform: as when the dauber of truculent likenesses calls himself a "handsome face-painter," &c. The shops, instead of being set out with the showy and sometimes expensive front of an English or French boutique, are closed in by gloomy black shutters, and very ill lit by a small skylight, or rather a hole in the roof. The inmates, instead of showing the civility and alacrity of shopkeepers in London or Paris, and anticipating the demands of their customers in the display of their goods, slowly, and sometimes sullenly, produce the articles from their cases and cupboards as they may be asked for: so that shopping at Canton is far from being an agreeable pastime.

The alley called Hog-lane it is not easy to describe by any standard of comparison, as we believe that *nothing so narrow or so filthy exists in a European town.* The hovels by which it is lined are occupied by abandoned Chinese, who supply the poor ignorant

sailors with spirits, medicated to their taste with stimulating or stupifying drugs; and when the wretched men have been reduced to a bestial state by these poisonous liquors, they are frequently set upon by their wily seducers, and robbed as well as beaten; until those sent in search of the sailors arrive, and carry them to their boat in this disgraceful condition. It was here that the affrays, which many years since so frequently led to homicides and discussions with the government, in general originated; until the Company's authorities invested the senior commander of the fleet with the complete regulation and control of all boats, with their crews, at Canton. Powerful influence was at the same time used to put down the spirit-shops, or bind their owners by heavy pains and penalties to good behaviour.

Those who anciently witnessed the fearful tumult generated in Hog-lane, described them as something quite remarkable. A few straggling sailors, fresh from their ship, in passing a spirit-shop, would be greeted by some Chinese with "How you do, Jack?" which would be immediately followed by a general exchange of similar brief and familiar appellatives, as Tom, Bill, and Ned, be the person addressed Christian or Pagan. A pipe and repeated glasses of grog (all on the sailor's side) would immediately follow,—with what might be called their ulterior consequences; for when the Chinese at length made their singularly unreasonable demand for payment, as, perhaps, a few *dollars* for what might be worth a few *pence*, Jack would have just sufficient reason left to discern the extent of the enormity, without being at all in a condition to meet the case by a logical *reductio ad absurdum*. The place of reason would therefore be supplied by the fist, or by anything still harder that chanced to be grasped within it. The Chinese, not unprepared for the emergency, and in full possession of their wits, would discomfit by dint of numbers, and drive the sailors down the lane; but these would presently return with strong reinforcements; and so the tumult would grow, with successive charges and re-

charges, and wounds deep and broad, until several individuals on either side were maimed or killed. Hog-lane seems to have been blocked up by Commissioner Lin in 1839.

The European commerce at Canton will be noticed specially hereafter. The amount of the native population of this city has been often discussed, but so little authentic information has ever been obtained on the subject that it still remains a question wholly undecided. The sweeping calculations, however, by which some persons have endeavoured to make it amount to a million, do not seem to deserve much credit. As the whole circuit of the city has been compassed within two hours by persons on foot, it cannot exceed six or seven miles, and considering that the houses are not more than a single story in height, it seems difficult to imagine how such a monstrous number as a million can be stuffed within its precincts.

Indeed a large portion of the manufacturing business of the place is carried on, not upon the spot, but at a place called Foshan, about ten or twelve miles higher up the river. This stream, which is of such magnitude opposite to the city as to float the largest junks, some of them equal to eight hundred or a thousand tons burthen, loses much of its size at a town called San-shuey Hien, which is not more than thirty-six miles above Canton, and is so named from the river there forming "three streams," or branches, one of which conducts from the north, the other from the west, and the third, composed of these two united, leads down to the city. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the country along the sides of the river. The low country is interspersed with numerous well-wooded hills, planted chiefly with firs, which rise like islands above the cultivated flats by which they are surrounded. The banks of the stream are richly planted with fruit-trees, consisting of the peach, the orange, and the plantain: and experience has shown that *their roots, imbedded in the rich mud which has been*

chiefly gained from the river, and constantly moisture by the tides, succeed better in that than in any other.

Not the least remarkable objects on the Canton, are the immense rafts of fir which constantly floated down to that place from the west. These are frequently many hundred length, and consist often of systems of rafts together, and extending to an incredible distance are guided down the river by means of long poles, managed by a few persons who erect on the rafts, and make them their temporary abode. A family of young children may frequently sport fearlessly, and in perfect security, on these huge plains of floating timber.

It must be observed that no inconsiderable population exists upon the river, in the multitudes that inhabit the junks, barges, and small boats. A very large portion of the latter (as remarked in the "Description of Canton") are Tân-kea, or "egg-house" boats, of a shape resembling the longitudinal section of an egg. They are generally not more than ten or twelve feet long, about six broad, and so low that a person can scarcely stand up in them. Their covering is made of a bamboo or mat tilt, shaped like that of a boat, which is very light, and serves tolerably as protection against the weather. Whole families live on these boats, and are considered as a distinct population, being under a separate regulation, and allowed to intermarry with those on shore.

But for the method already described of navigating the river-craft, it would be physically impossible to accommodate multitudes of vessels, large and small, to move among each other without mutual impediment and confusion. The extreme order which reigns on the Canton river, notwithstanding its crowded state, particularly struck Captain Laplace, whom we have already quoted, and whose remarks on the subject are here translated, as the impressions of an eye-witness.



altogether new to the place:—"The greatest tranquillity, a perfect harmony, reigns amidst this aquatic population. All these boats, of forms and dimensions so varied, move peaceably about. No fights, and rarely any quarrels. Each boat carrying either passengers or goods, and sculled by a female surrounded by her little ones, meets everywhere with a good-humoured accommodation, in consequence of which, notwithstanding the rapid current of the river, accidents are extremely rare. What a lesson for the lower orders, so brutal, so coarse, among nations who pretend at the same time to be the most civilized in the world! In China, the knowledge and the arts, which have given such an impulse to the industry of France and England, are much as they were in Europe above a century ago; but I repeat that the Chinese are very much our superiors in *true* civilization—in that which frees the majority of men from the brutality and ignorance which, among many European nations, place the lowest classes of society on a level with the most savage beasts." Monsieur Laplace is quite right; the lower classes of the Chinese people are better educated, or at least better trained, than in most other countries.

The long experience of European residents, who have been daily accustomed to sail or row upon the Canton river, either for business or pleasure, has gone to corroborate the observations introduced in a former chapter, against the alleged *frequency* of the custom of female infanticide, the *existence* of which to a limited extent nobody pretends to deny. That the practice is disapproved by the Chinese themselves, will be best shown by the following extracts from a native work, which serve to prove, at the same time, that it is partly the result of the jealousies arising from the vicious system of legal concubinage. "The drowning of infants, though it be the work of cruel women, yet results from the will of the husband; if the husband be determined against drowning the infant, the woman can have nothing in her power. If the child

be born of a *handmaid*, and the *wife* will not endure it, you may pass it over, after the first month, to some other family, and give it a name different from your own; by which means its life will be happily preserved.

"The nature of the tiger is most cruel, yet it knows the relation between parent and offspring. Shall man, who is the superior essence of all things, be surpassed by the tiger? I have heard that when female children are killed, the pain inflicted is beyond comparison—long suffering ere they die. Alas! the hearts of parents that can endure this! The disposition of daughters is most tender. They love their parents better than sons do. Many sons go from home; daughters cleave to their parents. Many sons disobey their parents; daughters are obedient. Sons have little feeling; daughters always mourn for their parents. Daughters love their virtuous husbands, and in many cases increase their parents' honour. The magistrates sometimes wrote tablets in their praise, and the emperor graciously conferred presents on them. Some were made ladies of the palace; others wives of great men. If you preserve the lives of your daughters, a sure reward will be the consequence."

As far as general demoralization (the most natural of all causes) can tend to promote the practice of infanticide, Canton is considered by the Chinese themselves as the most licentious city in the whole empire from the concurrent influence of its climate, and the vast circulation of wealth produced by its foreign commerce. To be appointed to an official employment at that place, is emphatically called "*being promoted to Canton*," so superior are the opportunities of enriching oneself in every way. The number of dissipated and idle vagabonds proves the comparative viciousness of this provincial metropolis; and a singular discovery, made in 1820, showed at once the character of the place, and the evil effects resulting from the practice of domestic slavery, as well as legal concubinage. It was on that occasion that

that a system of kidnapping male and female children had long prevailed, and been carried on to a great extent by an associated gang, and the following is an abstract of the circumstances which were detailed at the time in the 'Chinese Gleaner.'

The discovery was effected by the persevering efforts of a silk-weaver, whose apprentice, the only son of a friend, had been kidnapped soon after entering on his service. The man walked the streets of Canton in search of the lad, until by his daily wanderings and want of success he became half distracted. When all hope of finding the boy had nearly vanished, he came by mere accident on the object of his search, who being, according to the Chinese account, stupified by drugs or otherwise, did not know his master. The weaver, however, conveyed him to his shop, and then to the lad's father; and after various remedies, with the practice of some superstitious ceremonies, the boy was restored to his senses and recollection. The case was immediately reported to the government, by whom the rendezvous of the kidnappers, ascertained from the lad's information, was surrounded, and all escape prevented. In the house were found six men and three women, who had for a long course of years carried on a successful system of kidnapping children, and sending them to other provinces to be sold as domestic slaves. Several hundred had been thus stolen by them, and ten were actually found in the house. The gang were put to the torture, under which two died, and the remaining seven were chained together and paraded through the streets, receiving lashes from the youths whom they had kidnapped; after which they were either put to death, or transported to Tartary.

There is a peculiar turbulence about the character of the people on the sea-coast of this province, as well as the adjoining one of Fokien, which distinguishes them from other Chinese, and has frequently been noticed in the government proclamations, especially in regard to that spirit of *clanship* which is a frequent

source of so much disorder. This difference may be perhaps attributed to the sea-faring habits which distinguish them from the rest of the empire. The most notorious place for these excesses is the district of *Chaou-chow*, on the frontiers of Canton and Fokien, but still in the former province. One of the inhabitants some years since carried his appeal even to Peking against the magistrates, who either would not, or dared not, restrain the outrages, which resembled, in many respects, the horrors so frequently enacted by the Papists in Ireland. His kindred, having refused to assist two other clans in that neighbourhood to fight in their feuds, suffered the most shocking cruelties in consequence. Their houses were laid in ruins; several hundred acres of land seized and devastated; money plundered; temples of ancestors thrown down; graves dug up; and the water cut off from the rice-fields. Many persons were killed; more still were maimed and crippled for life; and, notwithstanding the large rewards offered for the apprehension of the leaders, such was the organization which bound them together, that they escaped unpunished.

The immense fleets of pirates who have often continued for years to infest the southern coasts, and who at length have been put down only by a compromise on the part of the government, may partly account for the existence of a maritime population in these two provinces, distinguished by a ferocity of character so different from the peaceable mildness of the other Chinese. To repress these, as well as to provide a safeguard against the European traders, is probably the object of the unusually large amount of Chinese troops and of war-junks which are kept up in the Canton province. At a short distance below the foreign factories is the dock-yard, which seems continually engaged in building or repairing the vessels of the emperor's squadron, whose inefficiency against European ships the Chinese never pretend to dispute. The sovereign of China himself not long since issued a paper, in which he inveighed against "the falling

f his navy, as he declared had been proved on several occasions. "There is the *name* of going to the aid," he observed, "but not the *reality*. Cases of piracy are continually occurring, and even barbarian anchor in our inner seas,"—alluding to the foreign vessels on the eastern coasts.\*

The land force retained about the city of Canton was estimated at 7000; but a considerable portion of these are a mere municipal police, and not regular soldiers, though the same term *ping*, in conjunction to the common people, is applied to all.

One of the viceroys of the province, subsequently to the ill conduct of the Canton troops in the operations against the independent mountaineers, published a curious summary of the duties of a Chinese soldier in warfare:—"Whoever runs away is to be executed. When an enemy advances, he who hesitates, or whispers to his comrade, shall suffer death. At the beginning of a fight, powder, shot, and arrows must not be thrown away at a distance, but reserved for action, as the want of them, when needed, waiting to be slain with the hands tied. When a man is wounded or taken, the men must make every effort to save him, and if they neglect this, they too shall be put to death. The soldier who bravely kills the enemy shall be rewarded, but he who *lies* concerning his own merits, or usurps those of others, shall be executed. He who hears the drum and does not retire, or who hears the gong and does not retire, shall suffer the same punishment. Strict adherence to the severities of martial law is the only way to make men of cowards."

It may be reasonably doubted whether the above is the best that could be devised for such a purpose, and the proof is that the Chinese generally effected the defeat of Admiral Kuan and his twenty-nine warships by the *Volage* and *Hyacinth* (a small frigate and sloop), who extorted an admission in a paper from Peking that the Chinese ships were too strong to cope with: but the admiral was executed and a victory claimed at Canton.

the object of force by trickery and compromise after this enumeration of the chief duties of a soldier, it may be as well to give, from another source, the virtues of a good general in the select men; some of which, it must be remarked, are of a *speculative* than of a practical nature. The covetous he appoints to guard his treasure; the corrupt to dispense his rewards; the benevolent to accept submission; the discriminating and bold to be envoys; the scheming, to divine the enemy; the timid, to guard the gate; the brave, to fight the enemy; the strong, to seize an important post; the alert, to gain intelligence; the *deaf*, to keep out; and the *blind*, to listen. As a good general throws away no blocks, so a good general has no unemployed. Each is selected according to his duty: but favour (it is added), and interest, and influence subvert the order of things, and make the blind to look out, and the deaf to listen." It is yet, by any chance, happened to Chinese soldiers to be engaged with European troops on land, and the admission of the natives themselves, they always failed entirely, and always must fail in ships; and it can scarcely be doubted that they will be as easily discomfited in the other instance. European power ever find it worth while to try a trial.\*

The Chinese government has expended vast sums in the vain endeavour to render the entrance of the Canton river impassable to European ships. The *Alceste* frigate forced her way, in 1831, without opposition; but, since that period, no efforts have been built, and all the guns that were collected have been placed in them, with a determination to succeed in the object. Lord Napier, in September, 1834, despatched a mission to his Majesty's ships *Imogene* and *Arcturion* to proceed to Whampoa and join the merchant

\* Such a trial seems now about to be made, viz.

ping at their anchorage, it met of course with a prompt compliance, and a fair experiment of their strength and means was afforded to the batteries at the Boca Tigris, as they had been long preparing themselves.\* A comparison of the observations made on board the two frigates gave the following results as to the armament of the forts :—

	Embra- sures.	Mounted guns.
Starboard hand, Old Ananghoy fort -	16	16
Starboard hand, New Ananghoy fort -	40	40
Larboard hand, Island battery (double tier)	82	39
Tiger-island battery - - - - -	32	18
Total guns -		113

In the above account are not included two smaller forts, which may be passed out of gun-shot range ; and as the notes were made after the affair was over, it is probable that many of the guns in the larger batteries had been dismounted by our shot.

\* See vol. i. chap. 4.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## RELIGION—CONFUCIANS.

IT has been observed that the very errors of the man mind form a part of its history ; and it is on ground that the different religious or philosophic : suasions into which the vast population of China been divided, claim a portion of our attention ; w it may be added, of the doctrines of Confucius in ticular, that they form the basis of the whole sys of government. These last, perhaps, owe some their better traits to the circumstance of having o nated during a period when the country was div into a number of small states, nominally dependen one head, but each ruled by its own laws ; a dition more favourable to liberty and good gov ment than its subsequent union under one absolute master.

Confucius, as his name has been Latinized by Jesuits (being really Koong-foo-tse), was born about 550 B.C., in the state Loo, within the district called Keo-fow Hien, just to the eastward of the canal, in Shantung province. It will be observed from the date, that he was a contemporary of Pythagoras. From his earliest age, Confucius is said to have been indifferent to the ordinary amusements of youth, and devoted to grave and serious pursuits. Being the son of a statesman, the chief minister of his native kingdom, he employed himself entirely in moral and political science, and neither investigated any of the branches of natural knowledge, nor troubled with the common superstitions of his country. His doctrines, therefore, constitute rather a system



sophy in the department of morals and politics, any particular religious persuasion. was the chief endeavour of the sage to correct ices which had crept into the state, and to restore influence of those maxims which had been derived the *ancient kings*, as Yaou, Shun, and others, stated in history or tradition. That he was sin- and that his professed love of reform was not a stepping-stone to his personal ambition, or an ment to serve his private ends, was proved by adiness with which he abandoned the station to his talents had raised him, when he found that nsels were unavailing, and his influence inadequate to the restoration of order. That portion of a China which lies to the north of the great , was then divided into a commonwealth of of which the native kingdom of Confucius only a constituent member; and through these countries he journeyed in a condition of sim- and comparative indigence, devoting himself to truction of all ranks, and to the propagation of cepts of virtue and social order. Such was the of his endeavours, and the weight of his influ- haracter and good example, that he is said to ckoned, at length, as many as three thousand s or proselytes, of whom seventy-two were rticularly distinguished by their devotion to ster, and their practice of his precepts. He v sought after by the rulers of the several nd employed in high offices tending to mature ledge and experience; but at length retired ompany of his chosen disciples, to study philo- nd compose or compile those celebrated works ve handed down his reputation to after-ages, me the sacred books of China.

g the moral doctrines of this great oriental ight be noticed some which have obtained ersal assent of mankind, and which cannot be l in excellence as rules of conduct. He taught treat others according to the treatment which

they themselves would desire at their hands," and "to guard their secret *thoughts*," as the sources and origin of action. In common, however, with every other scheme of philosophy merely human, there is much to condemn in the principles of the Chinese sage. He carried his inculcation of filial duty to so absurd and mischievous an extent, as to enjoin it on a son "not to live under the same heaven" with the slayer of his father; or, in other words, to exercise the *lex talionis*, and put him to death. This pushing to extremes of the paternal claim has (as we have before hinted) been the constant device of Chinese statesmen and rulers; the tendency being to strengthen the authority of the *emperor*, founded as it is in the rights of a father over his children. Confucius was renowned for his unpretending humility and modesty; but this portion of his mantle has not descended on his disciples of the present day; for if distinguished occasionally by some of the virtues of *stoics*, they resemble that sect still more in the high tone of self-sufficiency and pride which marks the conduct of the Confucians to all who have not the honour to profess the state religion of China.

By the marriage which he had contracted at the early age of nineteen, the sage had but one son, who died before his father, leaving, however, a grandson to Confucius, who inherited the talents and virtues of his progenitor, and distinguished himself in high stations. The founder of another sect, calling themselves *Tau-sze*, or "Doctors of reason" (whom we shall hereafter describe), was contemporary with the great philosopher, and perhaps has been indebted, in some measure, for the consideration in which he is held, to the attention bestowed on him by Confucius, who is said to have repaired to his dwelling for the purpose of conferring with him, and exploring his tenets. After completing his last work, the *Chun-tsiou*, which was a history of the times in which he had lived, Confucius died at the age of seventy-three, much regretted by the rulers of the states whose government and morals

had contributed mainly to ameliorate. Time has added to the reputation which he left behind ; and he is now, at the distance of more than two thousand years, held in universal veneration through China by persons of all sects and persuasions, in shrines and temples erected to his worship.

Dr. Morrison, in the first part of his Dictionary, has stated various particulars relating to the life of the sage from several Chinese works. Confucius is said to have been more than nine cubits in height ; and whatever may have been the cubit of those days, he was universally called "the tall man." Various prophecies, as in other instances, were the forerunners of the birth of this extraordinary person. On the eve of his appearance upon earth, two dragons encircled the sage, and celestial music sounded in the ears of his mother. When he was born, this inscription appeared on his breast—"The maker of a rule for settling the world." The pedigree of Confucius is traced back in summary manner to the mythological monarch *ang-ty*, who is said to have lived more than two thousand years before Christ. The morality of his family, however, notwithstanding this high descent, was even of himself, was in one respect open to censure, for he divorced his legal wife, and the example was followed by his son and grandson.

When he had concluded his travels through the various states, and retired to his native kingdom, he was at the age of thirty, disciples began to flock to him in great numbers. "At fifteen (says the sage the *Loo-yu*) I commenced my application to wisdom, and at thirty my resolution was immovably fixed." The close of his life was far from tranquil, and he was never employed in the affairs or implicated in the disputes of the petty states of his day. A quarrel, in which the sovereign of Loo was defeated, obliged Confucius to flee northward to the kingdom Tsy, situated in the modern gulf of Pechely. Between his sixtieth and seventieth years he was absent from home sixteen years together. When seventy years of age,

his favourite disciple Yenhoey died. Cor greatly concerned for the continuance of his doctrines, and having entertained hopes of this person, was inconsolable for wept bitterly, exclaiming, "Heaven has destroyed me!" In his year, a few days before his death, he leaning on his staff, and sighed as he ex-

" The mountain is crumbling,  
The strong beam is yielding,  
The sage is withering like a plant

He observed to a disciple, that the empire had been in a state of anarchy, and mentioned the previous night, which he regarded as the day of his own departure; and so it came to pass that seven days of sickness he died. The 18th day of the second moon is kept by the Chinese as the anniversary of their sage's death. In the 18th day long subsequent to his existence, Confucius was notified with the highest title of honour, *Ki* was subsequently styled the Sovereign Teacher of the Ming, or Chinese dynasty, which succeeded the Mongols, called him "The most holy teacher of times," a title which the present Tartars continued.

Though only a single descendant (his great-grandson) survived Confucius, the succession has continued for sixty-seven or sixty-eight generations to the present day, in the very district where their great-grandfather was born. Various honours and privileges distinguished the family. The great-grandson enjoyed the rank of nobility; and in the reign of K'ang-hy the total number of descendants amounted to eleven thousand males. In every century those of the third order, styled Hien, were dedicated to Confucius. The emperor, magistrates, and all the learned of the empire were in his service. The philosopher in his lifetime spoke as if persuaded that he had received

commission to instruct the world. In a moment of apparent danger he exclaimed, "If heaven is resolved that my doctrine shall not fail, the men of Kuáng can do nothing to me."

Dr. Morrison justly observes, that "Confucius was engaged in politics all his life; and even his ethics dwell chiefly on those social duties which have a political bearing. A family is the prototype of his nation or empire, and he lays at the bottom of his system, not the visionary notions (which have no existence in nature) of *independence* and *equality*, but principles of *dependence* and *subordination*—as of children to parents, the younger to the elder, and so on. These principles are perpetually inculcated in the Confucian writings, as well as embodied in solemn ceremonials, and in apparently trivial forms of mere etiquette. It is probably this feature of his doctrines that has made him such a favourite with all the governments of China for many centuries past, and down to this day. These principles and these forms are early instilled into young minds, and form the basis of their moral sentiment: the elucidation and enforcement of these principles and forms is the business of students who aspire to be magistrates or statesmen, and of the wealthy who desire nominal rank in the country; and it is, in all likelihood, owing chiefly to the influence of these principles on the national mind and conscience, that China holds together the largest associated population in the world." It is certain that no pagan philosopher or teacher has influenced a larger, if so large, a portion of the whole human race, or met with more unalloyed veneration. Whatever the other opinions or faith of a Chinese may be, he takes good care to treat Confucius with respect; and, as we have before observed that Confucianism is rather a philosophy than a religion, it can scarcely be said to come into direct collision with religious persuasions. The Catholics got on very well until they meddled with the civil and social institutions of China.

*A summary view of the original works or compila-*

tions which have come down from the age of Confucius and his disciples will perhaps enable us to form some judgment respecting that school of philosophy and literature of which he was the head, and which constitutes, at this day, the standard of Chinese orthodoxy. The classical or sacred works consist in all nine: that is to say, the "Four Books," and the "Five Canonical Works." In the course of a regular education, the former of these are the first studied and committed to memory, being subsequently followed up by the others; and a complete knowledge of the whole of them, as well as of the standard notes and criticisms by which they are elucidated, is an indispensable condition towards the attainment of the higher grades of literary and official rank. The original text of the works is comprised within a very moderate compass, but the numerous commentaries, which from time to time have been added, contribute to swell the whole to a formidable bulk. The art of printing, however, which gives the Chinese such an advantage over other Asiatic nations, together with the extreme cheapness of paper, has contributed to multiply the copies of *infinitum*, and to bring these and most other books within the reach of almost everybody.

1. The first of the Four Books is the *Ta-heö*, which has been correctly rendered "The School of Adult persons." by the Jesuits, meaning literally the *study of grown persons*. A later work, which has been named in contradistinction *Seou-heö*, "the Study of Youth," commonly precedes the other in education. The *Ta-heö* proceeds to show that in the knowledge and government of *oneself* the economy and government of family must originate; and going on thence to extend the principle of domestic rule to the government of province, it deduces from this last the rules and maxims which should prevail in the ordering of the whole empire. The first section of the work is ascribed to Confucius himself, and the remaining ten to his principal disciple. The pithy and condensed style of these celebrated bequests of antiquity may be

ferred from the fact, that the *text* of this work (however it may be swelled by commentaries) contains less than two thousand words; and its contents are briefly summed up as tending "to the improvement of oneself; the regulation of a family; the government of a state, and the rule of an empire." The end and aim of the work is evidently political; and in this instance, as in others, the philosopher and statesman of China commences with *morals* as the foundation of *politics*; with the conduct of an individual father in his family, as the prototype of a sovereign's sway over his people. In the sixth section of this work, "the beauty of virtue" is inculcated somewhat in the manner of the stoics, and its practice recommended as a species of enjoyment. There is some wisdom shown in pointing out the importance and utility of rectifying "the motives of action." The following sentence, too, is remarkable:—"He who gains the hearts of the people secures the throne; and he who loses the people's hearts loses the throne." There is every reason to believe that the recollection of this has tended to soften in practice the absolute theory of the Chinese government, and contributed to its general quiet and stability.

A very detailed analysis of their classics cannot be attempted in a work of this popular description, and we therefore conclude our notice of the *Ta-heò* by quoting a maxim from the tenth section, which might be recommended to the notice of European financiers: "Let those who produce revenue be many, and those who consume it few; let the producers have every facility, and let the consumers practise economy: thus there will be constantly a sufficiency of revenue,"—and (it might have been added) no national debts. There is a fair translation of the *Ta-heò*, with the text, in Dr. Marshman's *Clavis Sinica*; and M. Pauthier has lately published a Latin version at Paris.

2. The title of the second of the Four Books is *Hoong-yoong*, which means the "Infallible Medium;"

or the *juste-milieu*. It is an application of the Greek maxim—

ἡ δε μεσότης ἐν πᾶσι ασφαλεστερα,

that "the middle is in all things the safest course." Whatever vicissitudes a man may undergo, he is taught to be always equal and moderate; never haughty or elate in an exalted station, nor base in an humble one. It must not, however, be supposed that the thirty-three sections into which this work is divided are always of a practical nature, for they contain much that is extremely obscure, and sometimes almost unintelligible. The work serves generally to expound the ideas of the Chinese respecting the nature of human virtue. They commonly divide mankind into three great classes:—1. The *Shing*, perfect or inspired, who are wise or virtuous independently of instruction—the saints of China. 2. The *Hien*, good or moral, who become so by the aid of study and application. 3. The *Yu*, vicious or worthless, who degenerate into that state in spite of teaching. The Chinese consider that the nature of man is originally pure and inclined to virtue, and that it becomes vitiated only by the force of evil example, and by being soiled with what they call "the dust of the world." The old Greek poet Hesiod has four lines which define with surprising exactness the above triplicate classification of mankind. He says that—

"He indeed is the BEST of men who of himself is wise in all things:

Though he is GOOD who follows a good instructor;

But he who is neither wise of himself, nor, in listening to another,

Remains mindful of advice—this is the WORTHLESS Man."

The best translation of the *Choong-yoong* is that by Abel Rémusat, late professor of Chinese at Paris: but his version has been properly censured for being rather too verbal, and for too close an adherence to the mere letter of the text, in a work which, of all others in that



language, requires to be illustrated with some degree of freedom in order to make it intelligible.

3. The *Lun-yu*, the conversations or sayings of Confucius recorded by his disciples, together with the most remarkable actions of his life, is in all respects a complete Chinese *Boswell*. There is the same submissive reverence towards the great master of letters and morals, and the same display of self-devotion in erecting the fabric of his greatness. The conversational style is preserved alike throughout, as may be seen from these examples :—

#### LUN-YU.

A disciple inquired, "What must the sage do to deserve renown?" *Confucius* asked, "What do you call renown?" The other replied, "To be known among the nations, and at home." *Confucius* said, "That is merely notoriety, and not true renown. Now this consists in straightforward and honest sincerity, in the love of justice, in the knowledge of mankind, and in humility," &c.

#### BOSWELL.

Talking of Goldsmith, he said, "Sir, he is so much afraid of being unnoticed, that he often talks merely lest you should forget that he is in the company." *Boswell*, "Yes, he stands forward." *Johnson*, "True, sir, but if a man is to stand forward, he should wish to do it, not in an awkward posture, not in rags, not so as that he shall only be exposed to ridicule," &c.

The advantage, however, to our taste, is much on the side of the modern philosopher. The Chinese work consists in all of twenty chapters, divided into two equal parts—the *Shang* and *Hea* (upper and lower), first and second. The maxims turn chiefly upon private or public conduct, morals or politics. The demeanor and habits of the sage are diligently recorded :—"He was mild, yet firm ; majestic, though not harsh ; grave, yet agreeable." He seems to have been fond of a simple and retired life. "The virtues

of country people (he observes) are beautiful: he who in selecting a residence refuses to dwell among them, cannot be considered wise." The following is a specimen of the style of the Lun-yu. Being asked by a disciple to define the man of superior virtue, Confucius replied, "He has neither sorrow nor fear." "Does that alone constitute the character?" observed the other, surprised. "If a man," rejoined the sage, "searches within and finds nought wrong, need he have either sorrow or fear?" This is nothing more than the sentiment of Horace:—

"Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ."

The Chinese philosopher is stated to have been an enthusiastic lover of music, and to have done something to improve it. Certain it is, that whatever was said or done by him is made a rule of action at the present day, even to his personal demeanor. It has been observed before, that many of the provisions of the Penal Code are founded upon his maxims; and one instance in particular was noticed, wherein it is enacted, "that children and near relations, or dependents, shall not be punishable for concealing the faults of those with whom they dwell." The object of this seems to be the strengthening of kindred and domestic ties, founded on that precept of Confucius—"The father may conceal the faults of his son, and the son those of his father—virtue consists with this." The most remarkable passage of the Four Books, and the best maxim of the Chinese teacher, is the following:—Being asked if any *one word* could express the conduct most fitting for one's whole life, he replied, "Will not the word *Shoo* serve?" and he explains this by "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." This word must be admitted to be one of comprehensive import.

"There are three things," said Confucius, "to beware of through life. When a man is young, let him beware of his appetites; when middle-aged, of his passions; and, when old, of covetousness especially."

The following passage deserves notice :—" How can a mean man serve his prince? (asked the sage)—When out of office, his sole object is to *attain* it; and when he has attained it, his only anxiety is to *keep* it. In his unprincipled dread of losing his place, he will readily go all lengths."\* The extreme conciseness of the language in which these books are written, makes it sometimes very difficult to render their true meaning into English, except by some degree of paraphrase and circumlocution; and hence the apparent absurdities that have been justly ridiculed in some of the Protestant missionary translations. Those honest but injudicious men seemed to imagine that a verbal rendering was the one best calculated to convey the import of the original, whereas the very reverse is often the fact. The language of China is so much altered in point of copiousness, since the "Four Books" were composed, that the native editions consist chiefly of commentaries and amplifications which are found to be absolutely necessary towards elucidating the text. This, it must be admitted, may occasionally lead the rulers of China to interpret their great oracle in the manner best calculated to suit their own purposes, and such was the opinion of a correspondent of ours, who had spent half his life at Peking :—" Confucius est toujours grave, sentencieux, laconique, mystérieux—les lettrés y trouvent tout ce qu'ils veulent."

4. Ranking next to Confucius (*similis aut secundus*) is the celebrated Mencius, so called by the Jesuits, from his Chinese name Meng-tse. He lived about a century after his great predecessor, whose doctrines he still farther illustrated and promoted, and left behind him the *fourth* of the sacred books, bearing his own name. His birth was, as usual, said to be attended with prodigies, but the less fabulous part of the legend attributes the virtues and learning of Mencius to the excellent precepts and example which he received from his mother. Such was her care of the

\* Chap. xvii. sec. 15.

boy, that she three times removed her account of some fault in the neighbourhood at length on this point, she sent her son while she, a poor widow, remained at home and weave for a subsistence. Not pleased with progress, she learned, on inquiry, that he was idle, upon which she rent the loom she was weaving, asunder, partly from vexation, partly as a figurative expression of what she wished him to remember; for when she thought of the reason of her conduct, she made him see that without diligence and effort, his attention would be as useless to his progress in learning as beginning a web, and destroying it when it would be to the procuring of food and clothing. He took the hint, addressed himself to learning with diligence, and became a sage, second only to Confucius himself. One anecdote of the mother deserves notice. The boy, on seeing some one killed, asked her what was going to be done with them. She in jest said, "They are killing you;" but, on recollecting herself, she said this, because it might teach him to lie; so she gave some of the meat and gave it to him, that he might agree with what she had uttered. She thus held her up as the pattern of mothers.

The first book of Mencius opens with a conversation between him and the king of the State of Leang. The latter had usurped the title of king, he invited the worthies and philosophers of his court, Mencius went among the rest. Entering, the king accosted him, saying, "I wish to come to increase the gains of my country, which he replied, "What need is there of gain? benevolence and justice are all in. He illustrated this, by showing that if a spirit of avarice went abroad among all ranks, from the downwards, mutual strife and anarchy would be the result; upon which the king, as if convinced by his words, and said, "Benevolence

in all." Mencius lived to the age of eighty and his memory remained without any particular of honour, until an emperor of the Soong dynasty about A.D. 1085, reared a temple to him in one province, where his remains had been interred. He then obtained a niche in the temple of Confucius. Kea-tsing, an emperor of the Ming dynasty, expelled the Mongols, established the memory of Mencius in its ancient honours, and made one of his supposed descendants in the *fifty-sixth* generation a member of the Hânlin College, which was to remain hereditary in the family for the maintenance of the requisite sacrifices. "It," as Dr. Con\* observes, "the persons who now profess to be the posterity of Confucius and Mencius be really their families are probably the most ancient in the world." It would certainly be difficult to find even a pedigree to compete with them.

The contents of the book of Mencius exceed the value of the other three, and the main object of it is to inculcate that great principle of Confucian—philanthropic government. To our taste it is the best of the whole; and while it must be allowed to contain a great deal that is obscure, and is worthless, there are passages in it which do not disgrace the productions of more modern enlightened times. It is curious to find in the book of an absolute government sentences which contain much more of the rights of humanity, and a regard to the general good, than could have been expected. Nothing indeed is more remarkable, in the books, than the freedom with which Confucius and Mencius give their advice to kings. An instance is given in the sixth chapter of the work under discussion. In reply to a proposition from the sovereign that certain severe or unjust taxes should be lightened this year, and abolished the next, he replies, "This is like a man who should steal

\* Dictionary, part i. p. 732.

his neighbour's goods, and, on being censured, should answer, 'I will take so much less every month, and stop next year.' If you know the thing to be unjust, give it up instantly."

"The hearts of the people" are stated to be the only legitimate foundations of empire, or of permanent rule.\* "If, when with an equal strength (it is said) you invade a country, the people come to welcome you with supplies, can this be on any other account than because you are about to rescue them from fire and water?† but if you deepen the water and increase the fire, they will turn from you." Were any European power ever disposed to gain an influence in China by expelling the Tartars, this would be the language to hold; and as a secret association actually exists, whose object is the restoration of the Chinese dynasty, this seems to be the mode in which the end might most easily be attained. In fact, the Tartars are at all times extremely jealous of any intimate connexion arising between their Chinese subjects and foreigners; and this lies at the bottom of their rigid system of exclusion. It was *prior* to the Tartar conquest that Europeans had access to various commercial marts on the eastern coast, and only *since* that event that they have been shut out in the most effectual manner.

"He who subdues men by force (says Mencius) is a tyrant; he who subdues them by philanthropy is a king. Those who subdue by force do not subdue the heart; but those who subdue men by virtue gain the hearts of the subdued, and their submission is sincere." He at the same time explains very well the necessity for governments, as well as for the inequality.

\* "This obvious truth has been much insisted on in every period of Chinese history; and, being more or less acted on, has ameliorated the condition of the people, who, though not formally represented in any legislative assembly, have always found other means of making their voice heard."—*Morrison*.

† Explained in the Commentary as tyranny.

ties in the conditions of different orders of society. It may be questioned whether the argument could be better put than in his fourth book, where the illustration he makes use of demonstrates, at the same time, the advantages resulting from the *division of labour*. Let it be remembered that this was all written more than two thousand years ago. In reply to the objection that one portion of the community is obliged to produce food for the other,\* “Does the farmer (asked Mencius) weave the cloth, or make the cap which he wears?—No; he gives grain in exchange. Why does he not make them himself?—It would injure his farming.—Does he make his own cooking-vessels or iron implements for farming?—No; he gives grain in barter for them: the labour of the mechanic and that of the husbandman ought not to be united. Then (says Mencius), are the government of the empire and the business of the farmer the only employments that *may* be united?—There are employments proper to men of superior station, as well as to those in inferior conditions. Hence it has been observed, some labour with their minds, and some with their bodies. Those who labour with their minds *rule*, and those who labour with their bodies are *ruled*.” This is exactly Pope’s line—

“ And those who think still govern those who toil.”

The commentary appended to the foregoing in the Chinese work proceeds to add:—“The mutual benefit, derived by these different classes from each other’s exertions, resembles the advantage that results to the farmer and mechanic from the exchange of their respective produce. Hence it is proved that the exemption of some from manual labour is beneficial to the whole community.” It appears from the book of Mencius, that the Chinese have always considered the ground as the original source of all wealth, and the principal subject of taxation. Agriculture is called

\* Chap. v. sec. 4.

noàng-ty, made himself so celebrated. The Shoo-king is a history of the deliberations between the two emperors Yaou and Shun, and those persons whom Confucius styles the *ancient kings* (rulers of petty nations or states), whose maxims are quoted by him as the models of perfection. Their notions of good government are founded on certain principles, sufficiently good in themselves, and "which being observed, there is order;—if abandoned, there is anarchy." "It is vain to expect (they add) that good government can proceed from vicious minds." Here again one is occasionally surprised (as in the precepts of Confucius and Mencius themselves) to meet with maxims which could be hardly anticipated as the groundwork of a mere Asiatic despotism. They rather prove, in fact, that if administered and preserved in strict accordance with its theory, the government of China is based in a great measure on public opinion.\* When the people (in the Shoo-king) rise against the tyranny of him with whom the *Hea* dynasty closed, they are justified by the maxim, that "the *people's hearts* and *heaven's decree* are the same;" which is nothing else, in fact, than *vox populi vox Dei*.

We have before had occasion to notice the account contained in the Shoo-king of a general inundation (by some identified with the universal deluge), whose waters were drained off by the exertions of the great *Y* in the course, it is said, of nine years. This, together with other circumstances attending the Chinese account of the event, leads rather to the inference that it was only an aggravation of those fearful inundations to which the extensive country watered by the Yellow River (descending at once from the hills of Tartary into an immense alluvial plain) is even *now* constantly liable. There is, indeed, fair ground for concluding that the

\* A philosopher of some celebrity left behind him *three* maxims regarding government—"First, to choose *proper* men; secondly, to consult the wishes of the people; thirdly, to act according to the times."



urse of that great stream near the sea has, at some note period, been changed, and that it must once ve emptied itself into the gulf of Pechely, north of e Shantung promontory.\* The unparalleled quantity of mud which its waters hold in suspension is w forming deposits, impeding its exit into the sea, d annually causing inundations by throwing the eam back upon the flat country. It is more than mible that the choking of the ancient embouchure sed the deluge of *Yaou*; and a second deluge may caused by the stoppage of the present exit.

k. The Book of Rites, *Ly-king*, which is the next in r, may be considered as the foundation of the pre- t state of Chinese manners, and one of the causes their uniform unchangeableness. Exterior forms e highly estimated by the earliest teachers of the ntry, on the ground of their being calculated to en men's manners, and restrain their natural prone- s to excess and violence. They observed, that the pers and dispositions of all being different, the *Ly* rules of propriety in relation to external conduct, me necessary in order to harmonize such opposite acters, and reconcile their differences. Hence it een the constant endeavour of Chinese moralists rlers to stifle everything like passion in its birth, to reduce all to a tranquil dead level. The cere- al usages of the country are commonly estimated

n the book of Mencius it is stated (chap. v. sec. 4, that n the course of eight years removed the obstacles which d several rivers, so that they flowed into the sea, and e opened a vent for others into the Keang. Mr. Collins, uestant missionary, who translated the Four Books, re- , that "according to this account, the country has been w from the creation of the world down to the period stion, and that the water was put into proper channels by e efforts. "These circumstances 'he able to serve the eration of such persons as have supposed that the Chinese : alluded to the universal deluge." Mr. Collins seems ight, except in the supposition that the inundation was ral: it was more likely to be accidental.

is said to have produced the *Yáng* and *Yin*, the active and passive, or male and female principle, and these last to have produced all things. The Heaven they call *Yáng*, the Earth *Yin*,—the Sun is *Yáng*, the Moon *Yin*,—and in the same manner the supposed analogy is carried throughout all nature. One might sometimes be led by their definitions of the *Tae-keih*, to suppose it an intelligent being; but the general drift of the system is plainly material, as it does not discriminate between the creature and the Creator. This dogma of materialism, however ancient it may be in its first origin, became especially cultivated, or according to some, *originated* in China, during the *Soong* dynasty, which preceded the Mongol Tartar conquest. The learning and science of the Chinese, such as it was, being then much in vogue, some celebrated commentators on the ancient books appeared about that time, the most famous of whom was the *Choo-tsze* before named. At length, under Yoong-lo, of the *Ming* dynasty, and in the fourteenth century, a joint work was composed, by name *Sing-ly-tâ-tseuen*, or a complete exposition of nature, in which the mystery of the *Tae-keih* was fully treated of. *Choo-tsze* thus expressed himself:—"The celestial principle was male, the terrestrial female; all animate and inanimate nature may be distinguished into masculine and feminine; even vegetable productions are male and female, as, for instance, there is female *hemp*, and male and female *bamboo*. Nothing exists independent of the *Yin* and *Yáng*." Although the Chinese do not characterise the sexes of plants, and arrange them systematically as we do after Linnæus, they use the

emanation from the golden egg, as experiencing fear at being alone in the universe: he therefore willed the existence of another, and instantly he became masculo-feminine. The two sexes thus existing in one god were immediately, by another act of volition, divided in twain, and became man and wife. This tradition seems to have found its way into Greece; for the *Androgyne* of Plato is but another version of this Oriental mythus."—*The Hindoos*, vol. i., p. 166.

above phraseology in regard to them; nor do they confine it to the vegetable and animal creation only, but extend the same to every part of nature.\* *Numbers* themselves have their genders: a *unit* and every odd number is male; *two* and every even number female.

The above might, with no great impropriety, be styled "a sexual system of the universe." They maintain that when from the union of the *Yáng* and *Yin* all existences, both animate and inanimate, had been produced, the sexual principle was conveyed to and became inherent in all of them. Thus heaven, the sun, day, &c., are considered of the male gender; earth, the moon, night, &c., of the female. This notion pervades every department of knowledge in China. It exists in their theories of anatomy and medicine, and is constantly referred to on every subject. The chief divinities worshipped by the emperor, as high-priest of the state religion, are Heaven and Earth, which in this sense appear to answer in some degree to *ουρανός* and *γη* in the cosmogony of the Greeks.

Of *Tien*, or heaven, they sometimes speak as of the Supreme Being, pervading the universe, and awarding moral retribution: and it is in the same sense that the emperor is styled "the Son of Heaven." At other times they apply the term to the visible sky only. Heaven stands at the head of their *moral* as well as *physical* system, and most of the attributes of the Deity are referred to it. The common people colloquially apply to it a term of respect, equivalent to *venerable father*, or *Lord*; and *Choo-tsze* himself says on one occasion, that "Heaven means God." *Ty*, the earth, is called by the Chinese *mother*, in the same way that *Tien*, heaven, is styled *father*; and between these two all sublunary things are said to have been produced.

The combinations of double and single lines, contained in the *Yě-king*, and denominated *Kuâ*, may be

\* *Chinese Gleaner*, vol. ii. p. 144.

seen depicted on the circles of the Chinese mariner's compass. Of these Dr. Morrison observed, that they are called the signs, forms, or species of all things in nature, and seem somewhat like the intelligible numbers of Pythagoras, as the monad, duad, and so forth, of which nothing either certain or important is now known. Some have spoken of these numbers as "the archetype of the world;" others, in language much more like that of the Chinese, call them "the symbolical representations of the first principles and forms in nature." But what is meant in either case it is not easy to determine. Whatever use Pythagoras made of his "intelligible numbers," the only intelligible use that is made of them in China is for the purposes of imposture, in fortune-telling or divination.

The same writer remarked that, with the Confucians of China, the gods appeared to hold by no means an undivided supremacy, the saints or sages (*shing-jin*) seeming to be of at least equal importance. Confucius admitted that he did not understand much respecting the gods, and therefore he preferred being silent on the subject: and Choo-foo-tze (or Choo-tze) affirmed that sufficient knowledge was not possessed to say positively that they existed; but he saw no difficulty in omitting the subject altogether. Though the sages of China did not claim for themselves an equality with heaven, they yet talk of each other in a way that sounds like blasphemy. Heaven and earth (they say) produced man, but the work was incomplete; men were to be taught the principles of reason, which heaven and earth could not do; the work of the sages was equally great, and therefore heaven, earth, and the sages form a triad of powers equal among themselves.\* The Chinese division of human know-

\* "Then," says Confucius, "the sage is united with heaven and earth, so as to form a triad. To be united with heaven and earth means to stand equal with heaven and earth. These are the actions of the man who is by nature perfect, and who needs not to acquire perfection by study." It may be observed that the emperors of China are principally included in this list.

ledge (it may be remarked) is into *Heaven, Earth, and Man*. "The *Joo-keou*, or sect of the learned (adds Dr. Morrison), which is so miserably deficient respecting the Deity, is also entirely silent respecting the immortality of the soul, as well as future rewards and punishments. Virtue is rewarded, and vice punished, in the individuals or in their posterity, on earth; but of a separate state of existence they do not speak."\*

Among the sages of China, none perhaps holds a much higher rank in general estimation than the celebrated commentator Choo-foo-tsze. In the embassy of 1816 we visited the spot which had been consecrated by the abode of this person, and which, from the natural beauties of the situation, possesses attractions of no ordinary kind. On the west of the Poyang lake, near the city *Nan-kang-foo*, is a range of mountains, consisting principally of mica-slate, in which are embedded great quantities of garnets, the whole in a state of rapid disintegration. The mica existed in such abundance, that our entire pathway, as the sun shone upon it, was in a blaze of light. At no great distance the Chinese were working large quarries of fine granite. Near the bottom of a beautiful cascade, which fell in a crystal column from a great height, was the commencement of a most romantic valley, in which, at a little distance from the foot of the mountains, was the spot formerly inhabited by the philosopher: it was called "the Vale of the White Deer," from a circumstance in his history. The most remarkable object, in the temple there erected, was a figure of Confucius, of whom the complexion was represented as quite black. On the tablet below his feet was inscribed, "The altar of the deified Confucius, the most holy teacher of ancient times." In one of the halls, at present used as a school-room for young

\* Their philosophy makes man consist of a *king*, figure, or visible body, and *ky*, spirit, or animating principle. While the union continues, the body remains sensible, and their separation is death.

students, were five large tablets, inscribed with the most noted precepts of the sage. There were also the two following inscriptions on either side of the entrance:—"Since the time of Choo-tsze, learning has flowed as from an authentic fount." "By studying in the retirement of the mountains and waterfalls, man returns to the primitive goodness of his nature."

That the Chinese believe in the existence of an *innate moral sense*, seems implied in this passage from Mencius:—"If you remark the natural dispositions, you may see that they are towards virtue; hence I say that man's nature is virtuous. All men have (originally) compassionate hearts; all men have hearts that feel ashamed of vice; all have hearts disposed to show reverence and respect; and all men have hearts that can discriminate between right and wrong. A compassionate heart implies benevolence; one ashamed of vice, rectitude; one which respects and reveres, a sense of propriety;\* and one that clearly distinguishes right from wrong, wisdom. Now the principles of benevolence, rectitude, propriety, and wisdom, are not infused into us from without; we certainly possess them of ourselves." It will be remarked that these notions are quite opposed to our own doctrine of original sin and human depravity.

This notice of the state religion of China may be concluded by the following sketch of the principal objects of worship, and other points connected with it, abstracted from the detailed account contained in the 'Chinese Repository,' a work printed at Canton.† The state-worship is divided into three classes:—first, the *Ta-sze*, or great sacrifices; secondly, the *Choong-sze*, or medium sacrifices; and lastly, the *Seaou-sze*, or lesser sacrifices. Under the first head are worshipped the Heaven and the Earth. In this manner they would seem to adore the material and visible heaven, as contrasted with the earth; but they, at the same

\* *Ly*, the word applied to their ceremonies.

† Vol. iii. p. 49.

appear to consider that there exists an animating intelligence which presides over the world, rewarding virtue and punishing vice. *Tien* and *Shang-ty*, "supreme ruler," appear always to be synonymous with the *Shoo-king*. Equal with the above, and like him, is restricted to the worship of the emperor and his ancestors. This is the great Temple of Imperial Ancestors. If Chinese sovereigns are thus deified, we may recall similar examples of madness and folly in the Roman emperors, one of whom, still farther to outrage common sense of mankind, made his horse a companion and even the "conquering son of Ammon" himself was not exempt from those disorders of the brain which infest the giddy heights of human prosperity. In China, however, this extravagance is rather the result of a system, calculated by design to work upon the feelings and opinions of the multitude, than the result of individual caprice and vanity. The objects of worship entitled to the "medium sacrifices" are (among others) the gods of the land and grain. The former are generally represented by a stone, placed on an altar with matches of incense burning before it, which is commonly seen in every village and corner. The Sun and Moon, otherwise called the "Great light" and the "Evening light" preside under this head. The rest are various—gods, sages, and others, the inventors of agriculture, manufactures, and useful arts. The god of letters is principal among these. The "lesser sacrifices" include a still larger class, among which is the ancestor of the healing art, together with innumerable spirits of deceased statesmen, eminent scholars, marvellous virtue, &c. The principal phenomena of nature are likewise worshipped, as the clouds, the rain, and thunder, each of which has its presiding deity. The *five mountains*, the *four seas*, are rather figurative than exact expressions for the land and the sea in general. Like the Romans, they worship military flags and banners: and *Kuân-ty*, a deity of ancient times, much honoured by the

military, is especially adored by the present dynasty for his supposed assistance. Their right being that of conquest, they properly worship the god of war. *Loong-wáng*, the Dragon king, who represents rivers and the watery element, receives much sacrifice from those who have charge of the Yellow River and grand canal, both of which so frequently burst their banks; and his temples were constantly recurring during the progress of the embassies through the country.

Among others of the same class of gods is "the Queen of Heaven," *Tien-how*,\* concerning whom the legend says, that she was a native of the province of Fokien, and distinguished in early life for her devotion and celibacy. She became deified during the thirteenth century under the Soong dynasty, and, having originated in a maritime province, she is the peculiar patroness of seafaring people, who erect altars and temples to her on shore, and implore her protection on the water. She is supposed to have the control of the weather; and in seasons of severe drought the government issues proclamations, commanding a general fast and abstinence from animal food: the local magistrate, in his official capacity, goes to the temples and remains fasting and praying for successive days and nights, supplicating for rain. In no country are the vicissitudes of the seasons more irregular, nor the inconveniences resulting from them more severe, than in some parts of China.

"That the material universe is the object of worship appears not only from the names of those several parts which have been given above, but also from other circumstances. Thus the imperial high-priest, when he worships heaven, wears robes of an azure colour, in allusion to the sky. When he worships the earth, his robes are yellow, to represent the clay of this earthly sphere. When the sun is the object, his dress is red; and for the moon, he wears a pale white. The kings (*wáng*), nobles, and crowd of official hiero-

\* Worshipped also by the Buddhists.



phants, wear their court-dresses. The altar of sacrifice to heaven is round, to represent the sky; that on which the sacrifices to earth are laid is square, but whether for a similar reason is not stated. The priests of the Chinese state religion, subordinate to the emperor himself as *pontifex maximus*, are the kings, nobles, statesmen, and the crowd of civil and military officers. The *joo-keou*, or philosophic sect, monopolize both the civil and sacred functions. At the grand state-worship of nature, neither priests nor women are admitted; and it is only when the especial sacrifice to the patroness of *silk* takes place, that the empress herself, and the several grades of female rank at Peking, may take a part.

"It is required of the Chinese hierophants that they be free from any recent legal crime, and not in mourning for the dead. For the first order of sacrifices they are required to prepare themselves by ablutions, a change of garments, a vow, and a fast of three days. During this time they must occupy a clean chamber, and abstain,—1, from judging criminals; 2, from being present at a feast; 3, from listening to music; 4, from cohabitation with women; 5, from intercourse with the sick; 6, from mourning for the dead; 7, from wine; 8, from eating onions or garlic; for," says the annotator, "sickness and death defile, while banqueting and feasting dissipate the mind, and unfit it for holding communion with the gods."

The victims sacrificed consist of oxen, sheep, and pigs; and the other offerings are principally silks.\* It is required that the victims be whole and sound, and a black colour is preferred. The times of sacrifice are specified thus:—those to heaven are offered at the winter solstice; those to earth at the summer solstice; and the others at regularly appointed periods. The punishment annexed to the neglect of due preparation, imperfect victims, &c., is either for-

\* These, as well as the flesh of the sacrifices, are probably divided among the worshippers eventually.

feiture of salary for a month or longer, or a specified number of blows with the bamboo, which may be commuted for the payment of a very small sum of money, according to the *number of blows* adjudged to the delinquent; which, as in other cases throughout the penal code, may often be considered rather as a *measure of the offence* than as a specification of the *real penalty* inflicted. The case is far different if the common people presume to arrogate the right of worshipping heaven, for they are punished in such cases with eighty blows, and even with strangulation.

Notwithstanding the general aspect of materialism that pertains to the Chinese philosophy, it is difficult to peruse their sentiments regarding *Tien* (heaven) without the persuasion that they ascribe to it most of the attributes of a supreme governing intelligence. The work above quoted contains, in another place, the translation of the prayer of the reigning emperor, Taou-kuáng, on the occasion of a long drought with which the whole country had been afflicted in the year 1832.\* The following extract will show at once the responsibility which attaches to the conduct and administration of the emperor, and the notions of a Supreme Being associated with the Chinese ideas of *Tien* :—" I, the minister of heaven (says the emperor), am placed over mankind, and made responsible for keeping the world in order, and tranquillizing the people. Unable as I am to sleep or eat with composure, scorched with grief, and trembling with anxiety, still no genial and copious showers have yet descended. \* \* \* \* I ask myself whether, in sacrificial services, I have been remiss? whether pride and prodigality have had a place in my heart, springing up there unobserved? whether from length of time I have become careless in the affairs of government? whether I have uttered irreverent words, and deserved reprehension? whether perfect equity has been attained in conferring rewards and inflicting punish-

\* Chinese Repository, vol. i. p. 236.

ments? whether, in raising mausoleums and laying out gardens, I have distressed the people and wasted property? whether, in the appointment of officers, I have failed to obtain fit persons, and thereby rendered government vexatious to the people? whether the oppressed have found no means of appeal? whether the largesses conferred on the afflicted southern provinces were properly applied, or the people left to die in the ditches? \* \* \* \* Prostrate, I beg Imperial Heaven to pardon my ignorance and dulness, and to grant me self-renovation; for myriads of innocent people are involved by me, a single man. My sins are so numerous that it is hopeless to escape their consequences. Summer is passed, and autumn arrived—to wait longer is impossible. Prostrate, I implore Imperial Heaven to grant a gracious deliverance," &c.

It was the opinion of some among the Jesuits in China that the better portion of the learned in that country had not given way to the material and atheistical system current during the Soong dynasty, but adhered strictly to the ancient religion, in which a Supreme and creative intelligence was acknowledged under the title of *Kien*, or *Shang-ty*.\* The Confucian philosophers consisted, according to them, of two sects. First, of those who disregarded the modern commentators and philosophers, and retained the same notions regarding the Creator of the universe that had been handed down from remote antiquity. Secondly, of those who puzzle themselves with the speculations of Choo-tsze and his school, as they appear in the work before mentioned, and endeavour to explain the phenomena of nature by the operation of material causes. Others of the Romish missionaries were persuaded that *all* the Chinese learned were no better than atheists, and that notwithstanding the express declaration of the Emperor *K'ang-hy*, in his communications with the Pope, wherein he averred that it was *not* to the visible and material heaven that he

\* *The Supreme ruler.*

sacrificed, but to the true Creator of the universe faith could be placed in their explanations. We before remarked that the Romish fathers, however much they may have extolled the wealth, civil and resources of China, have generally viewed the moral and religious character of the people in a somewhat prejudiced light; and the commercial intruders from Europe, confined in their communications with the people to the neighbourhoods of the ports, unable commonly to gain correct information, and treated by the government as base intruders, have been sufficiently predisposed in every way to unfavourable impressions.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

## RELIGION—BUDDHISM.

WHEN a Chinese is asked how many systems of philosophic or religious belief exist in his country, he answers, *Three*—namely, *Yu*, the doctrine of Confucius, already noticed; *Fö*, or Buddhism; and the sect of *Taou*, or “Rationalists.” It must not, however, be inferred that these three hold an *equal rank* in general estimation. Confucianism is the orthodoxy, or state religion, of China; and the other two, though tolerated as long as they do not come into competition with the first, have been rather discredited than encouraged by the government. “First (it is observed in the Sacred Instructions) is the honourable doctrine of the *Yu*, and then those of *Fö* and *Taou*. Respecting these latter, Choo-tsze has said the doctrine of *Fö* regards neither heaven nor earth, nor the four regions. Its only object is the establishment of its sect, and the unanimity of its members. The doctrine of *Taou* consults nothing more than individual enjoyment and preservation.”

The religion of *Fö*,\* or, as it is pronounced at Canton, *Fut'h*, is that of Bud'h, in the precise shape which that superstition has assumed throughout Thibet, Siam, Cochin-China, Ava, Tartary, and Japan. The extensive dissemination of Buddhism in countries foreign to India, its original birth-place, must necessarily be ascribed in a great measure to the rancorous persecution it experienced from the Brahmins, whose hatred towards this heresy gave rise, as soon as they

\* This has been constantly confounded with the name of the ancient Emperor *Fc-hy*.

became the predominant sect, to the most cruel treatment of the *reformers*, for such the Budhists appear at first to have been. About one thousand years before the Christian era, an extraordinary man appeared in India, who laboured with unceasing assiduity, and not without success, to reform the popular superstitions and destroy the influence of the Brahmins. This was Budha, whom the Brahmins themselves regard as an avatar of Vishnu. The efforts of Budha were exerted to bring back the religion of his country to its original purity. He was of royal descent, but chose an ascetic life, and embraced the most abstruse system of philosophy prevalent in India. Many princes, among others the celebrated Vikramāditya, who reigned in the century that preceded the commencement of our era, adopted the faith of Budha, and, as far as their influence extended, obliterated the religion of the Brahmins and the system of castes. It is certain, however, that the learned adherents of the Brahminical religion did not remain silent spectators of what they deemed (*or at least called*) the triumph of atheism. They contended with their equally learned opponent, and this dispute, as is manifest by the tendency of many of the works still read by the Hindoos, called forth all the talents of both sides; but here, as in innumerable other instances, the arm of power prevailed, and, as long as the reigning monarchs were Budhists, the Brahmins were obliged to confine themselves to verbal contentions. At length, about the beginning of the sixth century of our era, an exterminating persecution of the Budhists began, which was instigated chiefly by Cumavila Bhatta, a fierce antagonist of their doctrine, and a reputed writer on Brahminical theology. This persecution terminated in almost entirely expelling the followers of the Budhist religion from Hindoostan; but it has doubtless contributed to its propagation in those neighbouring countries into which it had previously been introduced, through the intercourse of commerce and travel.\*

\* The Hindoos, vol. i. p. 175.

bove is the Indian history of Buddhism. According to the Chinese, it was introduced into their country about sixty-five years after the commencement of the Christian era, during the reign of Ming-ty, of the Hân

That monarch, considering a certain saying of Confucius to be prophetic of some saint to be discovered in the west, sent emissaries to seek him out. Having arrived in India, they discovered the sect of Buddhism. They brought back some of them with their idols and scriptures to China. The tradition is, that Buddha was a king and priest in a country of the west, in which he had been whom he made a divinity: that he was obliged to abdicate his power and seek a secluded life for ten or twelve years, after which he taught the doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, saying that the vehicle of a system of rewards and punishments hereafter. He is said ultimately to have regained his power, and to have departed this world in an advanced age, being transformed at once into the god Fō, or Buddha. It is a common saying of the Chinese, that "Fō is one person, but has three names, which are represented by three distinct gilded images called the "Three precious or pure Buddhas." The father of the god is said to have dreamed that he saw a white elephant, whence the veneration of the white elephants in Siam and Pegu. Buddha's character as a reformer is indicated by the Chinese legend, which aimed at instructing men "to amend their faults and practise virtue."

The principal precepts, or rather interdicts, of Buddhism must be understood as being addressed to the laity, or to those who devote themselves to the service of the god.

They are the following:—1. Do not kill living creatures. 2. Do not steal. 3. Do not marry. 4. Do not falsely swear. 5. Drink no wine. The *Shāhāngs*, or priests, are associated together in communities called *ghāṭis*, which are attached to the temples of Fō. They are precisely a society of mendicants, and go under the name of *monks* of that description in the Roman Catholic countries, where they are *living alms* for the support of their establish-

ments. How much their costume resembles the Catholic priesthood, may be seen by the annexed cut, from original Chinese drawings of Canton.



[Mendicant Priest of Budha.]

Their tonsure extends to the hair of the whole head. There is a regular gradation among the priests, and, according to his reputation for sanctity, his rank of service, and other claims, each priest may rise from the lowest rank of *servitor*, whose duty it is to perform the menial offices of the temple, to that of *officiary* priest, and ultimately of *Tse Hoshang*, abbot of the establishment. The curious resemblance exists between the observances of the Buddhist of China and Tartary, and those of the Catholic



reited the surprise of the missionaries from the ; and the observations and surmises of Père Ger- , who was intimately acquainted with the sub- nay by some be considered as worthy of attention. uestioned a well-informed Mongol as to the time his countrymen had first become devoted to the of Thibet, who is a spiritual sovereign closely bling the Pope. The reply was, that priests first into Mongol Tartary in the time of Koblai Khân, hat these were really persons of holy and irre- hable lives, unlike the present. The father sup- that they might have been religious Christians Syria and Armenia, the communication with countries being subsequently cut off by the mberment of the Mongol empire, the Buddhist s mixed up their superstitions with the Catholic rances. Certain it is (and the observation may ily made even at Canton) that they now practise dinances of celibacy, fasting, and prayers for the

they have holy water, rosaries of beads which ount with their prayers, the worship of relics, and astic habit resembling that of the Franciscans. likewise kneel before an idol called Tien-how, *of heaven*. These strange coincidences led some Catholic fathers to conjecture that the Chinese eceived a glimpse of Romish Christianity, by the f Tartary, from the Nestorians; others supposed t. Thomas himself had been among them; but rémare was driven to conclude that the devil actised a trick to perplex his friends the Jesuits. e who admit that most of the Romish cere- s and rites are borrowed directly from paganism, is less difficulty in accounting for the resem- s.

ese history relates, that about the middle of th century, the emperor Kien-tz, who founded ong dynasty, sent three hundred Shaman or t priests into India, on purpose to procure the and relics of the god. After passing the river o (*Gunga, or Ganges*) they saw a large image



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of Fö in the south. In the homilies of the pr there often occurs this sentence :—" Oh Fö, exist in forms as numerous as the sands of the *Heng*. Their books mention a country called *Sy-lân* (Cey. in which, near the sea, there is on a certain mount (Adam's Peak) the print of a foot three cubit length. At the base of the hill is a temple, in w the real body of Fö is said to repose on its side; near it are teeth and other *relics* of Budha, called the priests *Shay-ly*. It is but justice to the Chinese say that, in importing some of the Indian deities their superstitions, they have wisely left behind the indecencies and fanatic madness of Indian ship, and that such horrors as those enacted at gernath and elsewhere could never in the slight degree be practised under a government like the China.

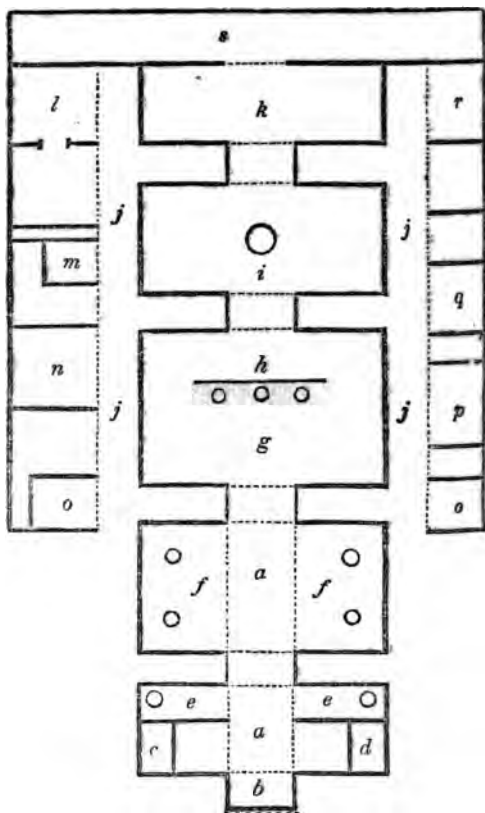
One of the principal objects of curiosity at Cs is a temple and monastery of Fö, or Budha, on a considerable scale, situated upon the southern side the river, just opposite to the European factories. is said that towards the close of the last Chinese nasty, and about A.D. 1600, a priest of great sanctity raised the reputation of the temple which had for some time before established in that place; a century afterwards, when the Manchows had taken possession of Peking, the son-in-law of Käng-hy, had been sent to subdue Canton, and was then called "Subjugator of the South," took up his residence in the temple, which he at length patronized and greatly enriched. The funds soon sufficed to maintain a crowd of priests who established themselves there with their monastic discipline; and it has been a place of consideration ever since. "I visited one evening," says Mr. Bennett,\* "the temple, situated at a short distance on the opposite side of the river that on which the factories are built. Having conferred with my companions in a boat, we proceeded a

\* Wanderings, &c., vol. ii. p. 107.

down the river, and landed at a dirty causeway some timber-yards, in which a quantity of fir of various dimensions was piled with an extraordinary degree of regularity. The entrance to the temple, and extensive grounds about them, close to the landing-place; and passing some able fruit and eating stalls adjoining, we noticed a clean open space planted with trees, and having in the centre a broad pavement of granite kept clean. The quietness that reigned within formed a pleasant retreat from the noise and bustle without. A paved way brought us to the first portico; here were sheld on huge granite pedestals a colossal figure on each side, placed there as guards of the entrance to the temple of Budha; the one on the right is entered by the warrior Chin-ky, and on the left is Chin-ky. After passing these terrific colossal guards, we entered another court somewhat similar to the first, also planted with trees, with a continuation of granite footpath, which led (through several gates) to one of the temples. At this time the priests were assembled, worshipping, chanting, striking drums, arranged in rows, and frequently performing *Ko-tow* in adoration of their gilded, senseless \* \* \* \* \*. The priests, with shaven crowns, arrayed in the yellow robes of their religion, appeared to go through the mummery with devotion. They had the lowering look of bigotry, which constant practice had at last legibly written upon their countenances \* \* \* \* \*. As soon as the mummery had ended, the priests all flocked out of the temple, added to their respective rooms, divested themselves of their official robes, and the senseless figures were left to themselves, with the lamps burning before them.

The annexed ground-plan of the temple and monastery may serve to convey some idea of the nature and extent of this old establishment.

The nine-storied pagodas of China, of which that in the *garden is a poor copy* (the originals being more



[Plan of Buddhist Monastery near Canton.]

*s a* is a handsome paved way of considerable breadth, leading through the middle of the space occupied by the temple, and composed of large slabs of granite, well laid down:—the *hill gate*, as it is called, though erected on a dead level, the

Buddhist temples being generally in the recesses of mountains;—*c*, *d*, two raised recesses, with various inscriptions in gilt letters on the walls;—*e*, *f*, two colossal figures of gigantic divinities, guarding the entrance;—*g*, the hall of the four celestial kings, each of them seated on a lofty pedestal, and as large as the two preceding figures; one of them is said to be the benefactor of the temple before mentioned under the title of "Subjugator of the South;"—*g*, the principal temple, in which are seen, fronting the entrance, three colossal gilded images of the Buddhist triad, called the "Three precious Buddhas," the round spot on the forehead of each marking their Indian origin. On each side of the entrance are seated gilded figures, on a much smaller scale, of the *eighteen Lokas*, or saints, who take care of the souls of those that die. A huge drum and bell serve, in this temple, to *awaken the attention* of the gods to their worshippers;—*h*, a single image of Omoto Fō, or Amida Budha;—*i*, temple containing a very well-executed monument of a vase-like shape and gigantic dimensions, carved in white alabaster, or gypsum, and sacred to the *relics* (called *Shay-ly*) of Budha. The whole is surrounded by lanterns and lamps kept continually burning, and on the sides of the monument stand bowls of consecrated or holy water, said to be a specific for various disorders, particularly of the eyes;—*j*, long covered passages or cloisters, leading to the priests' apartments and offices;—*k*, temple of *Kuān-yin*, a goddess worshipped chiefly by women;—*l*, apartments of the chief priest or abbot of the monastery, where Lord Amherst's embassy was lodged in 1816;—*m*, a great bell struck morning and evening;—*n*, apartments for receiving visitors, where may be seen an idol with many arms, evidently of Indian origin;—*o*, *p*, two pavilions, containing images of Kuān-foo-tze, and another warrior demigod, to whom the present dynasty attributes its success;—*p*, a place devoted to the preservation of animals, principally pigs, presented by the votaries of the temple. A chief tenet of this religion is to spare animal life. *q*, a book-room and a printing-press, exclusively devoted to the sacred books of the Buddhist sect;—*r*, a place for idols, near which are a number of miserable cells for the inferior priests;—*s*, on this side there extends a considerable space of walled ground for the growth of kitchen herbs, and containing besides a mausoleum, where are seen a number of jars, in which are deposited the *ashes* of the priests after their bodies have been burned. Here, too, is the building in which the act of cremation is performed. To the left of the temple are a variety of offices, as the kitchen, common room, &c. &c.

lofty, if not more substantial), are connected with the religion and worship of Fô. Images of that deity, and of the various gods and saints associated with him, are found in niches of the wall, in mounting the spiral staircase which conducts to the summit. Although Budha is not now worshipped in India, he is at least considered as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. It may therefore be conjectured that the *nine* stories of the pagodas in question have some reference to this circumstance, the real meaning of the number never having been exactly ascertained. Again, in our progress through the interior, with Lord Amherst's embassy, pagodas with only *seven* stories were met with; and it is possible that this number may convey a mystical allusion to the *seven* Budhas who are said to have existed at different periods. Wherever these pagodas are in good repair (for many are mere ruins), they are found attached to extensive establishments partaking of the nature of foundations, with a portion of their revenues derived from land adjoining. They are enriched by the contributions and bequests of their votaries, and most of them support a crowd of idle and ignorant priests; but the government has nothing to do with their maintenance. The books of the Buddhist religion, which are read and chanted in these establishments, are partly translated into Chinese from the originals in the Pâli language, a dialect of the Sanscrit: and in the person of the Grand Lama of Thibet (whose soul on quitting the body is supposed instantly to animate that of an infant) the doctrine of transmigration is said to be practically illustrated.

The indifference, and even repugnance, which is displayed by the government of China Proper towards the professors of Buddhism, becomes quite altered on the other side of the Great Wall towards Mongol Tartary. When Gerbillon was sent by the emperor in company with a Chinese mission beyond the wall, one of the principal Lama priests did not come out of his tent, nor even send a civil message to the representatives of the emperor, who (no doubt with authority



from the sovereign) performed a sort of adoration to the living idols. These, in their swinish laziness and stupidity, are supposed to display a kind of mystical abstraction from mundane affairs, and an absorption into the divine nature of Fō. The truth seems to be, that a faith which is good enough for the barbarous and ignorant nomades of Tartary is not so well suited to the comparatively enlightened and sensible Chinese, with whom the rational system of Confucius (with all its faults and imperfections) must ever hold the supreme rank, even under a Tartar dynasty whose native religion is Buddhism.

It is specifically urged against the doctrines of Fō by the Confucians, that they unfit men for the business and duties of life, by fixing their speculations so entirely on another state of existence as to lead some fanatics to hang or drown themselves in order to anticipate futurity; nay, two persons have been known to commit suicide together with a view to becoming man and wife in the next world. The priests are sometimes accused of employing their superstitious arts in seducing women; societies of women at least, called *Ny-loo*, a species of nuns or female devotees, are encouraged by them. The tricks occasionally made use of by the priests resemble the practices of the fakirs in India. Le Comte tells a story of a bonze, who went about in a vessel stuck full of nails (something like that in which the Carthaginians are said to have shut up Regulus), and pretending that it was a merit to relieve him from his pain, he sold these nails to the devout at so much per head.

Their notion of total abstraction, or quietism, seems to aim at getting rid of all passions, even of thought itself, and ceasing to be urged by any human desires; a species of mental annihilation. Certainly, to judge by its effects on the priests, the practice of Buddhism appears to have a most debasing influence. They have, nearly all of them, an expression approaching to idiotcy, which is probably acquired in that dreamy state in which one of their most famous professors is said to have passed nine years, with his eyes fixed

upon a wall ! They say, with reference to their system of moral retribution, that what a man receives now is an indication of his conduct in a former state ; and that he may augur his future condition by his behaviour in this life. The merit, however, would seem to consist as much in inaction as action, in the abstinence from evil, or the mere self-infliction of pain, as the practice of good. They make up an account with heaven, and demand the balance in bliss, or pay it by sufferings and penances of their own, just like the Papists of Europe.

Independently, however, of Buddhism, the Chinese have a great idea of the efficacy of charitable and merciful acts, and of the merit of alms-giving. "The good and evil deeds of the fathers (they say) will be visited on the children and grandchildren." The emperor himself, on occasions of drought and public calamities, or when some of the imperial house grants general pardons and amnesties. The ideas are attached to public fasts, when a severe interdiction is laid on the slaughter of animals, and no meat can be offered for sale. Such was the case in Canton in 1834, on the occurrence of the inundation. The system of promiscuous almsgiving is one principal encouragement to beggary. It has been taken for granted that there are no beggars in China, while there are, in fact, a great many, notwithstanding the religious attention paid to the claims of the poor. Beggars are seldom turned away from houses and shops without a trifle, which they extort by their whining and persevering importunities.

In a work of some note on morals, called 'Merits and Demerits examined,' a man is directed to keep a debtor and creditor account with himself of the acts of each day, and at the end of the year to wind it up. If the balance is in his favour, it serves as the foundation of a stock of merits for the ensuing year ; and if against him, it must be liquidated by future good deeds. Various lists and comparative tables are given of both good and bad actions in the several relations of life ; and benevolence is strongly inculcated in

ard, first, to man, and secondly, to the brute creation. To cause another's death is reckoned at one hundred on the side of demerit; while a single act of charitable relief counts as one on the other side. This method of *keeping a score* with heaven is as foolish and dangerous a system of morality as that of penances and indulgences in the Romish church. To save a person's life ranks, in the above work, as an act set-off to the opposite act of taking life away; and it is said that this deed of merit will prolong a person's life twelve years. A pretty correct idea of these moral sentiment might be gathered from the list of actions there given. To repair a road, make a bridge, or dig a well, ranks as ten; to cure a disease, thirty; to give enough ground to make a grave, as same; to set on foot some very useful scheme or action, ranks still higher. On the other hand, to give one unjustly counts as three on the debtor's side to level a tomb, as fifty; to dig up a corpse, as hundred; to cut off a man's male heirs, as two hundred; and so on. These notions are not peculiar to the Buddhist sect, but prevail universally among the Chinese, who are as little troubled with sectarian notions and animosities as any people in the world.

A paper by the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff, in the second volume of the 'Chinese Repository,' contains a very correct account of Buddhism as it now exists in the Celestial empire. He observes of the priests, that they scarcely address themselves to the understanding, but are content with repeating the prayers delivered to them in the Pâli, to them an unintelligible language; and they pay their adoration to an indefinite number of images, according to the traditions of their religion. In China, where the peculiarity of the language precludes its being written with alphabetic accuracy, the Pâli degenerates into a complete jargon, wherein the sound is imperfectly preserved, and meaning wholly lost. Mr. Gutzlaff tried in vain to decipher the hard words, and, after all his inquiries among the priests, succeeded so little in satisfying

himself, that he was obliged to relinquish the point. They seem, in fact, to repeat their prayers altogether by rote, and to be ignorant of the meaning of a very considerable portion of their sacred books.

Buddhism having been, as before observed, introduced into China about the middle of the first century of our era, the progress of its professors is thus explained by the same writer :—"Accommodating their system to all the existing superstitions, they opened the door to every sort of converts, who might retain as many of their old prejudices as they chose. They were by no means rigorous in enforcing the obligations of mental morality. To expiate sins, offerings to the idols and to the priests were sufficient. A temple built in honour of Fō, and richly endowed, would suffice to blot out every stain of guilt, and serve as a portal to the blessed mansions of Budha. When death approached, they promised to every one of their votaries speedy promotion in the scale of the metempsychosis, till he should be absorbed in Nirupan or Nirvan—nonentity. With these prospects the poor deluded victim left the world. To facilitate his release from purgatory, they said mass, and supplied the wants of the hungry departed spirit by rich offerings of food which the priests in reality devoured. As Confucius had raised veneration towards ancestors into idolatrous\* worship, they were ready to perform the office of priests before the tablets of the dead.

"But notwithstanding their accommodating creed the Chinese government has at times disapproved of it. As the importance of marriage has been acknowledged in China from time immemorial, and almost every person at years of maturity been obliged to enter that state, the celibacy of the priesthood of Fō was considered a very dangerous custom. Budha regarded contemplation and exemption from worldly

\* Not exactly idolatrous. They sacrifice to the invisible spirit, and not to any representation of it in the figure of an idol.

cares as the nearest approach to bliss and perfection; therefore his followers passed lives of indolence, and practised begging as the proper means of maintaining themselves. This was diametrically opposed to the political institutions of China, where the emperor himself sets the example of holding the plough. If such a system prevailed extensively, the immense population of the empire must be reduced to starvation, for it is only by the utmost exertion that it can subsist. These serious faults in the foreign creed gave occasion for its enemies to devise its extirpation. It was proscribed as a dangerous heresy, and a cruel persecution followed, but it had taken too deep root to be easily eradicated. Then again some emperor would think more favourably of its tendency, and even adopt it himself. Yet the natural consequence of its tenets was, that it could never become a religion of the state, and that the priests were never able to exercise any permanent influence over the populace. Besides, the Chinese are too rational to believe implicitly all the absurd Budhistic fables, nor can they generally persuade themselves that those numerous images are gods. When we add to this their national apathy towards everything concerning religion, from their being entirely engrossed by the affairs of this life, we can easily account for the disesteem in which they hold Buddhism."

The present condition in China of the religion of Fō is very far from flourishing, and the extensive and magnificent establishments, which have been founded in former times, are evidently in a state of dilapidation and decay. It is rarely that one meets with any of their nine or seven storied pagodas in tolerable repair, though one or two of these striking and elegant objects occur in almost every landscape. Between Macao and Canton there are no less than four or five nine-storied pagodas on elevated points by the river side, and every one of them is in a state of ruin. They serve, however, as admirable landmarks in the navigation of the river. The monas-

teries, or establishments of mendicant priests, are generally found in the most romantic spots of the hilly country. One of these particularly attracted the attention of both our embassies from its remarkable situation; and Lord Macartney has given a description of it which must be admitted to be somewhat beyond the reality. This temple of the goddess *Kuân-yin* (one of the principal idols of the Budhists) is seated in the face of a perpendicular limestone cliff, at least five hundred feet in height, and can be approached only by boats, as it rises abruptly from the side of the river about three or four days' journey above Canton. The natural fissure or cavern in the rock has been enlarged by human labour; and the abodes of the priests and idols consist of several chambers, one above the other, which are severally approached by stairs and shelving portions of the limestone. In front of the middle story hangs an enormous mass of stalactite, at least a ton in weight, threatening destruction to all who approach the temple from below.

The resemblance which we have already noticed between the ritual of Fö in these temples, and the Roman Catholic ceremonies, has excited the attention of Mr. Gutzlaff. "That they should count their prayers (says he) by means of a rosary, and chant masses for both the living and the dead; that they should live in a state of celibacy, shave their heads, fast, &c., might be perhaps accounted for as a mere coincidence of errors into which men are prone to fall: but their adoration of *Tien-hou*, 'the Queen of Heaven' (called also *Shing-moo*, 'the holy mother'), must be a tenet engrafted upon Buddhism from foreign traditions. We are unable to fix the exact date of the adoption of this deity. There is a legend of modern date among the people of Fokien, which tells us that she was a virgin of that province, who in a dream saw her kindred in danger of being wrecked, and boldly rescued them; but this affords no satisfactory solution. It is likely that some degenerate Nestorian Christians amalgamated with their faith and cere-

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monies the prevailing errors of China, and caused the priests of Budha to adopt many of their rites." In one instance that missionary saw a marble bust of *Napoleon*, before which incense was burnt in a temple; hence, he adds, it would not be extraordinary if they had also adopted among their other idols so conspicuous an object of worship as the Virgin is among Catholics.

In corroboration of this surmise may be adduced a very curious account of Christ, taken by Dr. Milne from the Chinese mythological history, in which Jesus is ranked among the number of the gods.\* That the account was received by the Chinese from the Catholics seems indisputably proved by the epithets applied to the Virgin, and the virtues and powers attributed to her. The work in which it appears is called 'A Complete History of Gods and Genii,' and was compiled in two-and-twenty thin octavo volumes by a Chinese physician, during the reign of K'ang-hy, at a time when many Catholics were in China. "The extreme western nations say, that at the distance of ninety-seven thousand *ly* from China, a journey of about three years, commences the border of Sy-keang. In that country there was formerly a virgin named Ma-le-a. In the first year of Yuen-chy, in the dynasty Hân, a celestial god reverently announced to her, saying, 'The Lord of heaven has selected thee to be his mother.' Having finished his discourse, she actually conceived, and afterwards bore a son. The mother, filled with joy and reverence, wrapped him in a cloth, and placed him in a horse's manger. A flock of celestial gods (angels) sang and rejoiced in the void space. Forty days after, his mother presented him to the holy teacher, and named him Yay-soo. When twelve years of age, he followed his mother to worship in the holy palace. Returning home, they lost each other. After three days' search, coming into the palace, she saw Yay-soo sitting on an

\* *Chinese Gleaner*, p. 105.

honourable seat, conversing with aged and learned doctors about the works and doctrines of the Lord of heaven. Seeing his mother he was glad, returned with her, and served her with the utmost filial reverence. When thirty years of age, he left his mother and teacher, and travelling to the country of Yu-teh-a, taught men to do good. The sacred miracles which he wrought were very numerous. The chief families, and those in office in that country, being proud and wicked in the extreme, envied him for the multitude of those who joined themselves to him, and planned to slay him. Among the twelve disciples of Yay-soo there was a covetous one named Yu-tah-sze. Aware of the wish of the greater part of his countrymen, and seizing on a proffered gain, he led forth a multitude at night, who, taking Yay-soo, bound him and carried him before Ana-sze in the court-house of Pelah-to. Rudely stripping off his garments, they tied him to a stone pillar, inflicting on him upwards of 5400 stripes, until his whole body was torn and mangled; but still he was silent, and like a lamb remonstrated not. The wicked rabble, taking a cap made of piercing thorns, pressed it forcibly down on his temples. They hung a vile red cloak on his body, and hypocritically did reverence to him as a king. They made a very large and heavy machine of wood, resembling the character *ten*,\* which they compelled him to bear on his shoulders. The whole way it sorely pressed him down, so that he moved and fell alternately. His hands and feet were nailed to the wood, and being thirsty, a sour and bitter drink was given him. When he died, the heavens were darkened, the earth shook, the rocks, striking against each other, were broken into small pieces. He was then aged thirty-three years. On the third day after his death, he again returned to life, and his body was splendid and beautiful. He appeared first to his mother, in order to remove her sorrow. Forty days after, when about to ascend to

\* The Chinese write ten with an upright cross.



heaven, he commanded his disciples, in all a hundred and two, to separate, and go everywhere under heaven to teach, and administer a sacred water to wash away the sins of those who should join their sect. Having finished his commands, a flock of ancient holy ones followed him up to the celestial kingdom. Ten days after, a celestial god descended to receive his mother, who *also* ascended up on high. Being set above the nine orders, she became the empress of heaven and earth, and the protectress of human beings."

There appears, upon the whole, some ground for supposing that the legend of Fokien province, concerning the *Queen of Heaven*, may have had its origin in the Romish accounts of the Virgin Mary, since the title by which the Chinese designate their goddess is *T'ien-how Neang*, "Our Lady the Queen of Heaven." On the other hand, the Chinese at Canton, who are fond of finding parallels and resemblances of the kind, give the name of the Virgin (in conversing with Europeans) to their Buddhist idol *Kuân-yin*; and in the same way apply the name of *Kuân-yin* to the Romish idols of the Virgin. To every saint who has a church at Macao they contrive to give a name, founded on some supposed analogy in their own idols. St. Anthony they call "the fire god." There is nothing in the Catholic worship at that place, or in the character of the priests, that is calculated to give the Chinese a very exalted idea of this corruption of Christianity. In the former, they witness graven or molten images, processions, tinkling of bells, candles and incense, exactly resembling their own religious rites; in the latter, a number of ignorant and idle monks, professing celibacy, but with indifferent moral characters, shaving their heads and counting beads very much after the fashion of the Buddhist priests. A few Catholic missionaries still make converts of the lowest and poorest Chinese, who occasionally appear at the churches and receive each of them a small donation of rice, for which reason they are sometimes called in Portuguese, "rice Christians."

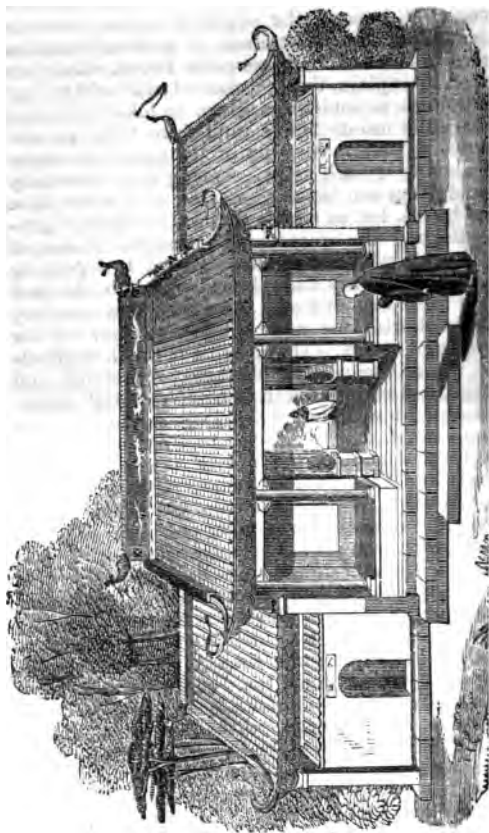
The curious resemblance between the practices of Buddhism and the Roman Catholic church goes still farther. Dr. Milne, whose zeal and talents accomplished much in a little time, but whose labours were cut short by an untimely death, supplied the following observations to the Chinese Gleaner : \*—" There is something to be said in favour of those Christians who believe in the magic powers of foreign words, and who think a prayer either more acceptable to the Deity, or more suited to common edification, because the people do not generally understand it. They are not singular in this belief. Some of the Jews had the same opinion ; the followers of Budha, and the Mahomedans, all cherish the same sentiment. From the seat of his holiness at Rome, and eastward through all Asia to the cave of the Jammaboos of Japan, this sentiment is espoused. The bloody Druids of ancient Europe, the naked gymnosophists of India, the Mahomedan Hatib, the Hoshâng (Buddhist priests) of China, the Catholic clergy, and the bonzes of Japan,—all entertain the notion that the mysteries of religion will be the more revered the less they are understood, and the devotions of the people (performed by proxy) the more welcome in heaven for their being dressed in the garb of a foreign tongue. Thus the synagogue, the mosque, the pagan temple, and the Catholic church, seem all to agree in ascribing marvellous efficacy to the sounds of an unknown language ; and as they have Jews, Mahomedans, and Pagans on their side, those Christians who plead for the use of an unknown tongue in the services of religion, have certainly a host, as to number, in support of their opinion. That Scripture, reason, and common sense should happen to be on the other side, is indeed a misfortune for them, but there is no help for it.

" The sacred language of the Buddhists is called ' The language of *Fân*, ' which is the name of the birth-place of Budha. It is totally unknown to the

\* Vol. iii. p. 141.

nese generally, and the priests themselves knowing of it, beyond the sound of a few favourite words and phrases. There are, it is true, glossaries attached to some of their religious books, which are added to explain these technical shibboleth; but definition is sometimes given in other technical words equally unintelligible, and from their general ignorance of letters very few of the priests are capable of consulting such helps. Among them there may now and then be found a scholar, and some have written books, but as a body they are extremely ignorant. Beyond the stated and occasional lessons of the Liturgy, which they have learned to repeat by heart, they have very little knowledge of books, and many of them cannot read. As a sect, however, they do not cherish the most profound veneration for the language of Fân. They ascribe miraculous effects to the use of the written character and of the oral language, and consider both to be of celestial origin. In the repetition of the bare sounds, without regard to the meaning, they attach the highest importance; and as they occasionally go over the same words hundreds and thousands of times. I once asked a priest, 'What advantage can you expect to derive from merely repeating a number of words, with the use of which you are entirely unacquainted?' His answer was, 'True, I do not know the sense—it is profound and mysterious; yet the benefit of often repeating the sounds is incalculable; it is infinite!'

Let us now attend for a moment to the sentiments of the Malays on the same subject. Their religious notions are derived from the Koran, the principles which they profess to imbibe, and daily observe its ceremonies. No language but the Arabic is allowed for their public religious services, and though there be not one in a hundred Malays that understands it, they religiously stick to it, and consider worship as profaned by the use of any other. Let them speak for themselves. 'The Arabic language possesses superior glory in the Islam religion, and no other can be



allowed in the Mahomedan mosques. If prayers be offered in the Malay, Javanese, Buggis, Bornean, Hindoostanee, or other languages, they are rendered profane and useless. The Arabic is that in which the Mahomedan faith was first given. The angel Gabriel was commanded by God to deliver the words of the Koran exclusively in Arabic to the prophet Mahomed.\*

"But to return to Buddhism. The paradise of Fö includes those circumstances of sensual indulgence which the founders of most false religions have promised to their votaries; but unlike the elysium of Mahomed, no *houries* are to be supplied to the saints of Buddhism, for even the women that are admitted there must first change their sex. "The bodies of the saints reproduced from the lotus\* are pure and fragrant, their countenances fair and well formed, their hearts full of wisdom, and without vexation. They dress not, and yet are not cold; they dress, and yet are not made hot. They eat not, and yet are not hungry; they eat, and yet are not satiated. They are without pain, irritation, and sickness, and they become not old. \* \* \* \* \* They behold the lotus flowers and trees of gems delightfully waving, like the motion of a vast sheet of embroidered silk. On looking upwards, they see the firmament full of the To-lo flowers, falling in beautiful confusion like rain. The felicity of that kingdom may justly be called superlative, and the age of its inhabitants is without measure. This is the place called the paradise of the west."

The hell of the Chinese Buddhists may be described from a translation,† made by Dr. Morrison, of the explanatory letter-press on ten large wood-cuts, which are exhibited on particular occasions in the temples, and copies of which have been mistaken sometimes in Europe for the criminal punishments of China,

\* The lotus is a favourite type of creative power, and representations of it perpetually occur in connexion with Buddhism.

† *Chinese Gleaner*, vol. iii. p. 288.

giving rise to very unfounded notions of the cruelty of penal jurisdiction in that country. Prior to their final condemnation, the souls are exposed to judgment in the courts of the *Shě-ming-wáng*, "the ten kings of darkness:"\* the proceedings in these courts are represented exactly after the manner of the Chinese judicial trials, with the difference in the *punishments*, which in these pictures of the infernal regions are of course sufficiently appalling. In one view are seen the judge with his attendants and officers of the court, to whom the merciful goddess *Kuán-yin* appears, in order to save from punishment a soul that is condemned to be pounded in a mortar. Other punishments consist of sawing asunder, tying to a burning pillar of brass, &c. Liars have their tongues cut out; thieves and robbers are cast upon a hill of knives; and so on. After the trials are over, the more eminently good ascend to paradise; the middling class return to earth in other bodies, to enjoy riches and honours; while the wicked are tormented in hell, or transformed into various animals, whose dispositions and habits they imitated during their past lives.

One of the emperors of the Ming dynasty, who was much attached to the Buddhist tenets, and who meditated sending, about the commencement of the 16th century, an ambassador with expensive presents to India, for the purpose of bringing some of the most learned of that sect to court, to explain their doctrines, was addressed by one of his ministers in the following strain:—"That for which the people of the world most honour and love *Shakia* himself amounts to this, that he continued to teach his doctrines during the space of forty years, and that he died aged eighty-two. This was indeed a great age, but the years of Shun were a hundred and ten; those of Yaou a hundred and twenty. Supposing that your majesty's extreme affection for the sect of Fō springs from a

\* There is a festival to the honour of these about the month of August. See *Festivals*, vol. i. p. 312.

ine wish to discover the good way, I venture to  
 at your majesty not to love the name merely,  
 o seek diligently the reality; not to regard the  
 only, but carefully to search for the principle;  
 not to seek them from Fō, but from the spotless  
 s; not from foreigners, but in our own country.  
 ld your majesty be persuaded to regard our sacred  
 s with the same ardour with which you love Fō,  
 eek the doctrines of Yaou and Shun with the  
 estness which leads you to those of Shakia, there  
 be no need to send many thousand miles to the  
 y land of the west, for the object is at hand, and  
 re your eyes.\* \* \* \* I adduce the testimony of  
 fucius, who says, 'The very moment that I desire  
 e virtuous, the attainment is made,' &c. It is  
 rguments allied to these that the introduction of  
 gn innovations has perpetually been restrained  
 checked in China, although occasionally, as in  
 case of Buddhism, they have been tolerated, and  
 short periods gained some strength.

re may include within our sketch of Chinese Bud-  
 1 some extracts from Mr. Hodgson's account\* of  
 religion, as he found it in the 'Bauddha Scrip-  
 es of Nipal,' much nearer to its source, and greatly  
 er understood than it is in China. The primary  
 ive for doing good, and worshipping Budha, ac-  
 lling to these scriptures, is the hope of obtaining  
 rption into the nature of the god, and being freed  
 1 transmigrations. Between the highest class of  
 ries and Budha there is no difference, because  
 r will eventually become Budhas. Those who do  
 d from the fear of hell, are also above the class of  
 ers, and their sufferings will be lessened; but they  
 be constrained to suffer several transmigrations,  
 endure pain and pleasure in this world until they  
 in *mukti*, or absorption.

he mystic syllable *AUM* is not less revered by  
 Buddhists than the Brahmins; but the latter apply

\* *Royal Asiatic Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 232.

it to their own *Trimurti*, or Triad of *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*; while by the former it is applied to *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Sanga*, which is the Triad represented by the three gilded images in the Canton temple, described at pages 166, 167, and alluded to in the Chinese books, when they say that "Fö is one person, but has three forms." Their scriptures contain in native characters, which imitate as nearly as possible the Sanscrit sounds, the following invocation to the Triad, *Namo Buddhâya, Namô Dharmâya, Namah Sangûya—Om!* that is to say, "Adoration to Buddha, adoration to Dharma, adoration to Sanga—AUM!" concluding thus with the mystical monosyllable, which represents the three terms united in one sign.\* The three divinities are called by the Chinese "the three pure, precious, or honourable Fö," concerning whom Rémusat has given the following explanation:—"According to the interior doctrine, *Buddha*, or the Intelligence, produced *Dharma*, the Law, and the two united constituted *Sanga*, the Union, or combination of several. According to the public doctrine, these three terms are still the Intelligence, the Law, and the Union; but considered in their external manifestations, the intelligence in the Buddhas to come, the law in the writings revealed, and the union in the multitude of the believers, or the assembly of *priests*. Hence it arises that the last have, among all the Buddhist nations, the title of *Sanga*, united, which, being abridged in the Chinese pronunciation, has formed the word *Seng*, rendered by the missionaries 'bonze,' but which signifies literally, ecclesiastic. Such are the sense and the origin of this well-known word, the etymology of which has not before been investigated."

The same writer has the following observation concerning the goddess *Kuân-yin*, one of the most important divinities in the Buddhist mythology:—"De Guignes (he says), wishing to explain the Chinese names of *Poo-sa* and *Kuân-she-yin*, adduces a passage

\* Abel Rémusat, sur la Doctrine Samanéenne, p. 27.



om Kircher, who supposes that the being to whom these names are applied is Nature, and calls her the Sybele of the Chinese. He remarks that she is also called *Lotus-eyed*, and *born of the lotus flower*. Kuân-in, then, he concludes, is the Lakshmi of the Indians. Rémusat, with apparent reason, combats this notion, and gives his own explanation in the following terms :—The supreme intelligence (Budha) having by his thought (Dharma) produced union or multiplicity (Sanga), from the existence of this Triad arose five extractions or intelligences of the first order, that is, Budhas, each of which produced an intelligence of the second order, *Bhodisatua*.† It is from this name that the Chinese have, by abbreviation, formed that of *Poo-sa*, common not only to these five secondary intelligences, but to all the souls which have attained the same degree of elevation. *Kuân-she-yin*, or *Kuân-yin*, is placed at the first rank ; but *Padmanetra* (Lotus-eyed) is the name of another divinity of the same kind. The Sanscrit name of the former (Kuân-yin) is Padma-sini, who represents, on account of her productive power, the second term of the Triad, and in the exterior doctrine is characterized by several signs of a female divinity. It is certain that no idol in China is more honoured than Kuân-yin.‡

In the name of *Poo-ta-la*, a temple, or rather monastery, described in Lord Macartney's mission, may be recognised the Chinese pronunciation of Budha. This extensive establishment, which was found in Manchow Tartary beyond the Great Wall, is described

\* Observations, p. 51.

† “ *Poo-te-sü-to*, an Indian word introduced with the Budha-ect; now, according to the genius of the Chinese language, contracted to *Poo-sa*.”—*Morrison's Chinese Dictionary*, part ii. i. 682.

‡ M. Rémusat observes very truly that Chinese Buddhism can only be duly investigated by comparing the Chinese versions with the Sanscrit texts, and thus combining two departments of learning which have not as yet been united in the same person.

as a quadrangular structure of considerable height, each of its sides measuring two hundred feet, and the whole building affording shelter to no less than eight hundred priests or lamas.\* In the square court or quadrangle within is a gilded chapel, with representations of the Triad, and the whole description assimilates it, though on the largest scale, to the monasteries in Nipal, as they are described by Mr. Hodgson. "The vihar is built round a large quadrangle or open square, two stories high; the architecture is Chinese. Chaitya properly means a *temple* of Budha, and vihar an abode of his cœnobitical followers. In the open square in the midst of every vihar is placed a chaitya; but those words always bear the senses here attached to them, and vihar can never be construed temple; it is a convent or monastery, or religious house." Poo-ta-la, then, is a vihar, with a chaitya within the quadrangle.

The Chinese pronunciation of Budha seems also apparent in the name *Poo-to*, applied to an island of the Chusan group, in latitude  $30^{\circ} 3'$ , and longitude  $121^{\circ}$ , where Mr. Gutzlaff† visited one of the largest establishments dedicated to Fō and his priests; a place of such note as to be the resort of numerous votaries from remote parts. "At a distance (says he) the island appeared barren and scarcely habitable; but as we approached it we observed very prominent buildings and large glittering roofs. A temple, built on a projecting rock, beneath which the foaming sea dashed, gave us some idea of the genius of its inhabitants in thus selecting the most attractive spot to celebrate the orgies of idolatry. We were quite engaged in viewing a large building situated in a grove, where we observed some priests of Budha walking along the shore, attracted by the novel sight of a ship. Scarcely had we landed when another party of priests, in common garbs and very filthy, hastened down to us chant-

\* Staunton, vol. ii. p. 258.

† Journal of a Voyage along the Coast of China, 1832-33.

g hymns. When some books were offered them, they exclaimed, 'Praise be to Budha!' and eagerly took every volume that I had. We then ascended to a huge temple, surrounded by trees and bamboos. An elegant portal and magnificent gate brought us into a spacious court, which was surrounded with a long range of buildings not unlike barracks, being the dwellings of the priests. On entering it, the huge images of Budha and his disciples, the representations of Kuân-in, the goddess of mercy, and other idols, with the spacious and well-adorned halls, exhibit an imposing sight to the foreign spectator.

"The high-priest requested an interview. He was a deaf old man, who seemed to have very little authority, and his remarks were common-place enough. We afterwards followed a paved road, discovering several other smaller temples, till we came to some large rocks, on which we found several inscriptions hewn in very large letters.\* One of them stated that China was sages. The excavations were filled with small gilt idols and superscriptions. On a sudden we came in sight of a still larger temple, with yellow tiles, by which we immediately recognised it as an imperial endowment. A bridge, very tastefully built over an artificial tank, led to an extensive area paved with married stones. Though the same architecture reigned in the structure of this larger building as in the others, we could distinguish a superior taste and a higher finish. The idols were the same, but their votaries were far more numerous; indeed, this is the largest temple I have ever seen. The halls, being arrayed with all the tinsel of idolatry, presented numerous specimens of Chinese art.

"The colossal images were made of clay, and tolerably well gilt. There were great drums and cylindrical bells in the temple. We were present at the ves-

\* This is a common practice of visitors, who employ artists to cut these gigantic letters very deep into the face of the rocks. The embassy of 1816 met with them near the Poyang lake.



[Officiating Priest of Budha.]

pers of the priests, which they chanted in the Pāli language, not unlike the Latin service of the Romish church. They held their rosaries in their hands, which rested folded upon their breasts. One of them had a small bell, by the tinkling of which their service was regulated; and they occasionally beat the drum and large bell to rouse Budha's attention to their prayers. The same words were a hundred times repeated. None of the officiating persons showed any interest in the ceremony, for some were looking around, laughing and joking, while others muttered their prayers. The few people who were present, not to attend the worship, but to gaze at us, did not seem in the least degree to feel the solemnity of the service. Though the government sometimes decries Buddhism as a dangerous doctrine, we saw papers stuck up, wherein the people were exhorted to repair to these temples in order to induce Heaven to grant a fertile spring; and these exhortations were issued by the emperor himself. What inconsistency!

“On the island are two large and sixty small temples

ch are all built in the same style ; and the idol of In-yin holds a prominent station. We were told upon this spot, not exceeding twelve square miles, 100 priests were living. No females are allowed to reside on the island, nor any layman suffered to reside there, except in the service of the priests. To maintain this numerous train of idlers, lands on the opposite island have been allotted for their use, which they run out ; but as this is still inadequate, they go upon ranging expeditions, not only into the surrounding provinces, but even as far as Siam. From its being a place of pilgrimage, also, the priests derive great profit. To every person who visits this island it appears first like a fairy land, so romantic is everything that meets the eye. Those large inscriptions hewn in solid granite ; the many temples that appear in every direction ; the highly picturesque scenery itself, with its jagged, peaked, riven, and detached rocks ; and, above all, a stately mausoleum, the largest which I have ever seen, containing the bones and ashes of thousands of priests, quite bewilder the imagination."

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## CHAPTER XV.

## RELIGION—TAOJ SECT.

THE *third* religious or philosophic persuasion established itself in China is that of *Taou*, or *keun*, which was the name, or rather title, founder. This person appeared nearly simultaneously with Confucius, by whom he is mentioned a few years before the Christian era. As far as we are gathered of the real drift of his doctrines, he seems to have inculcated a contempt of riches and of all worldly distinctions, and to have aimed at Epicurus, at subduing every passion that could interfere with personal tranquillity and self-enjoyment. As death, however, was something that they could not pretend to despise, his disciples and successors seem to have endeavoured to work to invent an elixir of long life, of immortality, and thus became in time a sort of *alchemists*. They have been alternately favoured and persecuted at different periods of Chinese history, but seem to have flourished most under the Soong (11th) and subsequent to the tenth century of our era, when all speculative opinions, and every species of spurious learning, were most in vogue.

The principal commentator on the words of Confucius speaks of *Laou-keun*, or, as he is sometimes styled, *Laou-tsze*,\* with little respect, calling him "an ignorant good man." He is described as a recluse, who was distinguished by his humility, uprightness, simplicity of life, and freedom from cares and passions. He taught at

\* The legend says he was born with white hair, and called *Laou-tsze*, "the old infant."

tised a weak inactivity and neglect of the world and its concerns, loving neither fame, nor pleasure, nor business. It is reasonable to suppose that the principal fabric of that doctrine which now distinguishes the professors of the Taou sect, was the work of those who succeeded Laou-keun, and made use of his name as the foundation of their system. They call him "the original ancestor, or founder honoured of heaven;" and the account given of him in popular books is, that he was an incarnation of some superior being, and that there is no age in which he does not come forth among men in human shape. They tell the various names under which he appeared, from the highest period of fabulous antiquity down as late as the sixth century, making in all seven periods.\* In imitation, perhaps, of the Buddhist Triad, the followers of Taou have also their own Triad, which they denominate "the Three pure ones." This threefold source and supreme ruler is represented as presiding in heaven among the assembled gods, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations, and delivering his name, accompanied by many epithets of benevolence and mercy, to the "great bare-footed angel," to be promulged in the lower world, that amongst men, all who see and recite that name may attain infinite happiness and complete deliverance from all evil. Their principal scripture is the *Taou-t'ch'ing*, a Latin version of which exists in the library of the Royal Society.

Besides the practice of alchymy, to which they were led in their search of the elixir of long life, the disciples of Laou-keun have at different times professed the science of magic, and their arts of imposition were, at various periods of Chinese history, practised upon the sovereigns of the country. Under the T'ang dynasty this superstition gained such credit that the title of *Tien-sze*, "Celestial doctors or teachers," was conferred on its professors: a superb temple was erected to Laou-keun, and his image placed in it. It

\* *Morrison's Dictionary*, Part I. 582.

is said that the representatives of the head of the sect have still a large establishment in the province of Keang-sy, where numbers flock from all parts to obtain cures for diseases or to learn their destinies. The sect appears, in fact, to have degenerated very much from the character and tenets of the original founder, and many who wear the garb of the Taou-sze are at present little better than cheats and jugglers, professing to have communication with demons. The chief point of distinction in garb between them and the rest of the Chinese is the mode in which they dress their hair, which is fastened at the top of the head by means of a pin or skewer, somewhat after the fashion of the people of Loo-choo. It is by many degrees the least popular or predominant sect of China; its superstitions now engage only a few of the most ignorant, and the Taou-sze are but rarely seen.

In proof of the puerile nature of the superstitions which have occupied this sect, we may produce an extract from an original Chinese work, the history of the "Three States," in which are detailed the legends relating to the three brothers *Chang*, who professed the doctrines of the Taou sect, and at the head of an insurrection of rebels, called "Yellow caps," produced those troubles which ended in the ruin of the Han dynasty. "Lew-pei took occasion to steal upon Chang-pao with his whole force, to baffle which the latter mounted his horse, and, with dishevelled hair and waving sword, betook himself to magic arts. The wind arose with loud peals of thunder, and there descended from on high a black cloud, in which appeared innumerable men and horses as if engaged. Lew-pei immediately drew off his troops in confusion, and, giving up the contest, retreated to consult with Choo-tsien. The latter observed, 'Let him have recourse again to magic; I will prepare the blood of swine, sheep, and dogs, and, placing a party on the heights in ambush, wait until the enemy approaches, when his magic will be all dispersed by projecting the same upon him.' Lew-pei assented to this, and



two of his leaders, each with a thousand men; and the highest part of the mountain, supplied with blood of swine, sheep, and dogs, and other things.

The following day, Chang-paou, with flags and drums beating, came to offer battle, and proceeded to meet him; but scarcely had he reached before Chang-paou put his magic in exercise and wind and thunder arose, and a storm of stones commenced. A dark cloud obscured and troops of horsemen seemed to descend.

Upon this made a show of retreating, and Chang-paou followed him; but scarcely had they reached the hill when the ambushed troops started up and rushed upon the enemy their impure stores.

The hill seemed immediately filled with men and of paper or straw, which fell to the earth in confusion; while the winds and thunder at once ceased and the sand and stones no longer flew about. Chang-paou saw his magic thus baffled, he gave up and retreated at once, but Lew-pei's two lieutenants made their appearance on either side, while he and his lieutenant pursued in the rear. They were defeated with great slaughter. Lew-pei, bearing the flag inscribed 'Lord of Earth,' ran full speed on his horse towards Chang-paou, who took to flight and in his retreat was wounded in the left arm by an arrow discharged at him by his enemy."

As regards the word *Taou*, Reason, which serves as the denomination of the sect under consideration, in reference to which they style themselves Sons of Reason," it would seem that the ancient *philosophy* in use among ourselves had very much the same origin. Some persons have spent much time in discussing the mysterious and recondite meanings which in Chinese metaphysics have been attached to the words *Taou* and *Ly*; but it would be useless to enter upon such a discussion in a work like the present. We shall content ourselves with the popular use of those terms in connexion with each other,

which is simply *reason*. One of the missionaries of the Romish church supposed that *Taou* corresponded to the Greek *λογος*; but it has been objected to this with some truth, that what several of the Chinese books affirm of *Taou* being the original source and first productive cause of all things, does not so well comport with the definition of the *Logos* given in the philosophical systems which have adopted that term and where it has been considered not as the *first cause* but rather the first emanation from the Deity.

*Taou-keun* had four principal disciples, the chief of whom was *Chuâng-tsze*, concerning whom the Chinese possess an agreeable tale, which has been translated into French by Père Dentrecolles. It may be a relief to the dry dulness of Chinese philosophy, and at the same time illustrative of this sect, if we give an abstract of the story, which is the more particularly deserving of notice, as it has supplied ample material for the *Zadig* of Voltaire. The whole, it will easily be perceived, is a satire on the female sex and on marriage, and might perhaps be meant as an indirect dissuasive against that state. The story commences with an enunciation of the principles of the Chinese Epicurus. "Riches, and the advantages which they bring, are but a short and agreeable dream: honour and reputation resemble a brilliant cloud, which soon vanishes. The affection of those united by blood and other ties is commonly but a vain appearance; the most tender friendships may convert themselves into the bitterest strifes. Let us not wear a yoke because it is of gold; nor bear the burden of chains because they consist of jewels. Let us purify our minds, moderate our desires, and detach ourselves from worldly affections: let us, above all things, preserve ourselves in a state of liberty and joy, which is independent of others."

*Chuâng-tsze*, the story proceeds to say, having married a young and beautiful wife, retired to his native country of *Soong*, the present Shantung, to lead the life of a philosopher. He declined the offer of the

sovereign of a neighbouring state, who had been led by the fame of his wisdom to seek his services as minister, with the following apologue:—"A heifer, prepared for sacrifice with high and luxurious feeding, marched in state, arrayed in all the ornaments with which victims are adorned. In the midst of her triumph she perceived some oxen at the plough, and her pride was redoubled. But when, on entering the temple, the victim saw the knife raised in readiness for her immolation, she would gladly have exchanged lots with those whose condition had only just before been despised as inferior to her own."

One day as Chuáng-tsze was walking, immersed in thought, at the foot of a neighbouring mountain, he on a sudden found himself among a multitude of tombs; and being struck with the vast number of them, "Alas!" exclaimed he, "here then all are equal; here there is neither rank nor distinction, but the most ignorant and stupid of men is confounded with the sage himself. The sepulchre is at last the eternal abode of all, and when we have once taken up our place in the habitations of the dead, there is no possibility of return." After spending some time in these gloomy reflections, he proceeded along the tombs, and soon found himself near a newly-constructed sepulchre. The hillock of tempered earth was not yet entirely dry. On one side of the tomb sat a young woman in deep mourning,\* holding in her hand a large white fan, with which she constantly fanned the surface of the ground. Surprised at this sight, he ventured to ask whose tomb this might be, and why the lady took such pains in fanning it? She, however, without rising, continued to wave her fan as before, but muttered some words in a low tone, and at the same time let fall a few tears—a proof (thought the sage to himself) that shame rather than timidity prevented her from speaking out. When he had pressed her a little farther to explain herself, she made

\* i. e. In a long white cotton garment without a seam.



[The Chinese Widow fanning the Grave.]

him this reply:—"You see a widow at the tomb of her husband, from whom death has unhappily severed her. He whose bones rest in this sepulchre was very dear to me when alive, and loved me in return with an equal tenderness. Even in dying he could scarcely bear to part with me, and his last words were these 'My dear spouse, if you should hereafter think of marrying again,\* I conjure you to wait at least until the earth of my grave is entirely dry; after which you have my sanction to espouse whom you please.' Now, as it occurred to me that the surface of this ground, which has been newly tempered, would not very soon dry, I thought I would just fan it a little to assist in carrying off the moisture."

The philosopher had much ado to avoid laughing outright at this plain avowal. "The woman," thought he to himself, "is in a monstrous hurry! How could

\* Second marriages (as before stated) are rare on the part of women, and reflect some discredit on the widows.

have the face to boast of the mutual affection between herself and husband? If this be love, I wonder at what would have happened if they had hated each other!" Then turning to her he said, "You wish that the surface of this tomb should dry with all speed, delicate as you are, this exercise will soon tire you; let me, therefore, give you some assistance." The young woman immediately rose, and making him profound reverence, accepted his offer by presenting him with another fan exactly like her own. The philosopher, who had the power of invoking spirits, called them to his aid. He struck the tomb several times with the fan, and all appearance of moisture presently vanished. The lady upon this joyfully thanked her benefactor, and taking a silver bodkin from her hair, presented it to him with her fan, saying he would accept the same as a small mark of her gratitude. Chuáng-tsze declined the bodkin, kept the fan, and the lady retired much satisfied with her adventure.

As for the philosopher, he remained altogether in loneliness; then abandoning himself to the reflections that naturally arose out of such an incident, he returned towards his home. Once seated in his chamber, he regarded the fan for some moments in silence, and presently broke out with such sentences as the following: "Would not one suppose, from this, that when two persons marry, it is only from the hate conceived in a former state of existence; and that they seek each other in wedlock solely for purposes of mutual torment?"—His wife had kept behind him without being perceived, but on hearing his words she came forward. "Might one know," she asked, "the cause of your sighing, and where it was you obtained that fan which you hold in your hand?"—Chuáng-tsze immediately related to his spouse the history of the young widow, as well as of what had passed at the tomb where he fell in with her.

Hardly had he finished his recital, when this lady,

with a face that beamed with wrath and ind loaded the young widow with a thousand male calling her the opprobrium of the human the shame of her own sex! Then, looking husband, "I say it again," exclaimed she woman must be a monster of insensibility." philosopher, however, went on with the following tions:—"While her husband is alive, who wife that does not flatter and praise him? Is see her ready to take her fan and dry up with all haste. So in a picture you see an exterior, but not the inner parts; you see the not the heart." This put his wife into a great "How can you talk to me in that style," c "thus to condemn the whole sex in a heap; justly to confound the virtuous with wretches unfit to live! Are you not ashamed to pass unjust sentence; and have you no fear of b nished for it hereafter?"

"To what purpose are all these ejaculations the philosopher calmly; "but confess the were I to die to-day, surviving me as you would flower of your age with so much beauty and attractions, do you pretend that you would all years to slip by without accepting another husband—"Is it not the maxim," rejoined the lady, faithful minister never serves another prince virtuous widow never thinks of a second husband Did one ever see a woman of my condition, being once married, transferred herself to another family, and deserted her nuptial bed on her first decease! If, for my misfortune, you would reduce me to the widowed state, know that I am incapable of such an act, which would be the dishonour of our whole sex; nay, I should not even contract marriage for the rest of my life."

"Such promises," observed he, "are easily made but not often kept;" an observation which t ill-humour of his wife upon himself.—"Know she, "that women have often minds more

more constant than men of your stamp. What a perfect model of fidelity have *you* been! Your first wife dead, you took a second; her you repudiate, and marry myself, who am your third. You judge of others by yourself. As for us women who marry philosophers, we are much less at liberty than any others to form a second marriage. But you are quite well in health; why then torment me with such remarks?" So saying she snatched the fan out of her husband's hand, and tore it into twenty pieces. "Be quiet," said the philosopher; "your resentment gives me pleasure, and I am delighted to see you take fire upon such a subject." The lady became calm, and they talked of other matters.

In a few days more, Chuáng-tze became dangerously ill, and, to all appearances, at the very last extremity. His wife never quitted the bedside, where she sat bathed in tears, and continually sobbing. "From what I can see," said the philosopher, "I shall hardly recover from this attack. To-night or to-morrow morning we must part for ever. Alas, that you should have torn up the fan I brought you; it would have served so well to dry up the earth at my tomb!"—"Ah," exclaimed his wife, "do not, in your present state, let such distressing suspicions enter your mind; suspicions, too, so injurious to myself! I have studied our books, and I know what our rites demand. My faith having been once sworn to yourself, it shall never be transferred to another; and if you doubt my sincerity, I consent, nay, I demand, to die before you, in order that you may be persuaded of my truth."—"That is enough," replied he; "I feel assured of your constancy: but, alas, I find myself dying, and my eyes are closing for ever upon you." So saying he became breathless, and lay without a symptom of life.

The despairing widow, with loud cries of distress, now embraced the body of her deceased husband, and held it long locked within her arms. She then dressed *herself in a long mourning habit, and made the neigh-*



bourhood resound with the expressions of her grief and desolation. She would indulge neither in food nor sleep, and, in short, seemed to be at her wits' end. The neighbours presently came to do honour to the remains of the deceased, whom they knew to be a sage of the first rank. As soon as the crowd began to withdraw, a youth was perceived, of fair exterior, and an elegant habit, who gave himself out to be descended from the sovereigns of that particular state. "It is some years," said he, "since I announced to the philosopher Chuang-tze my intention of becoming his disciple. I came hither with that express design, and now find, alas, that he is dead! What a loss have I sustained!"

He now discarded his coloured clothes, and put on a habit of mourning; then prostrating himself before the coffin of the departed, he touched the earth four times with his forehead, and exclaimed with a voice broken by sobs, "Wise and learned sage, your disciple grieves that he can no longer profit by your lessons; but he may at least mark his attachment and respect by remaining here a hundred days to mourn for you." He then renewed his prostrations, and watered the earth with his tears. After this, he desired to see the lady, that he might make her his compliments; but she sent several excuses. The youth, however, represented that, according to the ancient rites, a woman might allow herself to be seen by the former friends of her husband. "I have," added he, "an additional title to this privilege, since I am here as the disciple of the departed sage." At these pressing instances, the widow could not do otherwise than allow herself to be persuaded. She therefore issued from her chamber, and proceeded with slow steps into the hall, to receive her guest's compliments of condolence, which were few, and made in the usual terms.

When, however, the lady had observed the elegant manners, the wit, and the other numerous attractions of this young gentleman, she was altogether charmed, and began to feel all the symptoms of a rising passion.



which she durst not yet confess to herself, but which led her nevertheless to hope that the young man would not very soon quit the neighbourhood. He, on the other hand, anticipated her by saying, "Since I have had the misfortune to lose my master, whose memory must be ever dear to me, it is my wish to seek a temporary abode here, wherein to spend the hundred days of mourning; after which I may assist at the funeral ceremonies. At the same time I may take occasion to peruse the works of this illustrious philosopher: they will in some measure supply the want of those lessons of which I have been robbed by his death."—"It will be an honour to our house," replied the lady; "and I can see no objection to it." So saying, she ordered a slight repast to be served up, and at the same time caused to be laid out, on a commodious table, the compositions of the philosopher, to which was added a copy of the celebrated *Taou-t's-king*, which had been a present from Laou-keun himself, the master sage. The youth received the whole of these with the politeness natural to him, and the respect due to the deceased.

On one side of the hall, where the coffin was laid out, were two chambers which opened into it: these were destined for the accommodation of the young stranger. The widow came frequently to the hall to weep over the remains of her husband, and on retiring, never failed to say something civil to the youth, who always presented himself to pay his respects. In these frequent interviews, many a glance escaped them, which betrayed the hearts of either party. If the youth himself was half smitten, the young widow was wholly so. It was lucky for her that the house being in the country, the negligence of the customary funeral rites was not likely to be noticed. To satisfy her curiosity, she sent quietly for the old domestic who had accompanied the young man to her house, and inquired of him if his master was yet married? "Not yet," replied he. "And what sort of person would he wish his wife to be?" inquired the lady.

"I have heard him declare," said the other, he could only find one who resembled you should be at the height of his desires."—"V then," added the widow, "you may speak to me; and if you perceive that he loves me, from myself that I shall be very well satisfied his wife."

"It is needless to sound him on that article," said the old man, "since he has frankly confessed that such a union would make him perfectly happy."—"But (observed he at the same time) that cannot take place, as I am a disciple of the defunct, a marriage would scandalize the world."—"There is no hindrance at all," exclaimed the lady, "my master was no real disciple of Chuang-tsze, for he only *promised* to become one, and that, you may say, is quite another thing. Go, and should any other equally trivial occur, you can easily return and I shall recompense you handsomely for your services." He promised to obey her. "Stop!" as he was going; "if the young gentleman of this marriage take place, you must come and see me immediately, at whatever hour it may be. At her departure, she remained in a state of no anxiety, and went repeatedly to the hall of her husband under different pretexts, the real object being to cover what might be going on in that quarter."

On one of these excursions, as she passed the coffin of her husband in the dark, she heard a noise, which made her start aside with fear and surprise. "It cannot surely be the deceased coming to life," thought she to herself. Having repaired to her apartment for a lamp to investigate the mystery, she found her messenger stretched at full length on the table, which served as an altar for incense offerings before the corpse. He was sleeping under the effects of the wine which he had drunk on his visit. Another woman would have broken out in indignation at such an act of irreverence to the dead, but she, however, ventured neither to complain

to wake the sleeping sot, but retired to her chamber, where she found it impossible to rest.

On the following morning, the widow met her messenger walking at his ease, and apparently without thinking of the commission with which he had been charged. Perplexed by this cold silence, she called him, and when they had retired to her apartment, "How have you succeeded?" inquired the lady. "There is nothing more to be done," replied the other, very drily. "How is that?" said she; "did you not remember what I told you to say?"—"I forgot nothing," he answered; "my master is very anxious for the union, and thinks nothing more of the obstacle that occurred to him before, as the disciple of the deceased. 'But (said the young gentleman) there are still three insurmountable objections, and I should be very unwilling to declare them to the widow herself.'" "Let us hear these objections," interrupted the lady, "and I will tell you what I think of them."—"You shall have them as they were stated by my master," said he. "In the first place, then, the coffin of the deceased being still laid out in the hall, this melancholy spectacle is of itself sufficient to interfere with the celebration of the nuptials. Secondly, the illustrious Chuáng-tsze having so tenderly loved his wife, and she having evinced for him so strong an affection, founded on his virtues and great capacity, 'I am afraid (said the youth) that the heart of the widow must remain always devoted to her first husband; especially when she perceives my inferior merit. Lastly, I am here unprovided with either money or any other kind of property. Where, then, are the marriage presents, and other requisites, to be obtained?' These, madam, are the obstacles to his wishes."

"If those are all," observed the widow, "I can soon remove them. As to the first article, of what consequence is this melancholy piece of furniture? What does it contain?—an inanimate body, from which there is nothing to fear. I have at the extremity of my grounds an old ruin; some countrymen, whom I

employ, shall remove the coffin there out much, then, for the first objection. As to my late husband was indeed a fine specimen he pretended to be!—Before marrying, I already repudiated his second spouse. On account of his ill-founded reputation, the king of a neighbouring state wished to make him his chief minister; however, conscious of his incapacity, and showing it, came to hide himself in this cave. Not a month since, he fell in with a young woman who was trying to dry up, with her fan, the turned earth about her husband's tomb, I could not marry until this had taken place. The philosopher accosted her, and, taking her fan, to please her, by assisting to dry the tomb, kept this fan as a remembrance of his niece, and brought it home with him; but he took it from him and tore it in pieces. What gift then, have I received from him, or what kindness he ever show me? As for the last objection, I will provide everything requisite for the marriage. There, take these twenty taëls, offer them to the master; they will provide his dress. And inform him of all that I have told you, and if he agrees, I am prepared to conclude the marriage to-morrow very day."

The messenger proceeded with the two to the youth, who now agreed to the proposal. As the young widow heard it, she was quite surprised. She quitted her mourning at once, and began to dress herself; at the same time that the coffin was transported, by her directions, into the old ruin. The wedding was presently made ready for the celebration of the nuptials, and a grand feast prepared, in which nothing might be wanting to the occasion. On the night all the lanterns were lit, and the nuptial table adorned the principal table. When all was ready, the youth appeared, habited in a dress which showed to the best advantage his features and figure. The lady herself soon joined him, dressed in

ment splendidly embroidered. They placed themselves near each other, opposite to the nuptial taper. Thus contrasted, they set off each other's attractions, as pearls and jewels serve to heighten the splendour of a golden tissue, and at the same time derive a brilliancy from it in return. Having made the accustomed\* salutations, and wished each other all felicity, they proceeded hand in hand to the interior apartment, where they went through the ceremony of drinking out of the cup of alliance, and then sat down to table.

Towards the conclusion of the repast, what was the astonishment of the late widow, and new bride, when the bridegroom all on a sudden fell into the most terrible convulsions! His features became distorted, his brows knit together, and his mouth twisted into frightful shapes. He could no longer hold himself erect, but fell at his full length on the floor. There stretched out, he beat his breast with both hands, calling out aloud that he had a sickness which must destroy him. Enamoured as she was to the last degree with her new spouse, the lady cried out loudly for help, and without any consideration for herself, fell on the floor and embraced the unfortunate youth, entreating him to tell her what was the matter: he, however, was in too great an agony to make any reply, and in short, appeared just ready to expire.

The old domestic, running in at the alarm, took his master up and shook him. "Has this ever befallen him before?" inquired the afflicted lady. "The distemper has seized him several times," replied the other;—"there seldom passes a year without such an attack; and but one remedy can save him!"—"Tell me quickly," she cried, "what it is."—"Our physician," continued he, "discovered the secret, which is infallible: let him take the brain of a man newly killed, and drink it in warm wine: the convulsions

\* For all the details of a Chinese marriage, the reader has been before referred to the *Fortunate Union*.

will immediately cease, and he will be as well as ever. The first time that this illness attacked him, the prince, his father, ordered a condemned prisoner to be put to death on purpose ; but, alas, where shall we find such a remedy at present ?"—“ Would the brain of a man who died naturally have the same effect ?” inquired the lady. “ Our physician,” replied the other, “ told us, that in case of absolute need it might be used, provided that the person had not been too long dead.”

“ Oh,” cried the lady, “ my last husband has been dead only a few days ; open his coffin, then, and take the remedy from thence :”—“ I had thought of that,” said the man, “ but was afraid to propose it, lest it should offend you.”—“ A great matter truly !” exclaimed she. “ Is not the present sufferer now my husband ? and ought I not to expend my own blood in his service ? Why hesitate, then, to use the dead for the sake of the living ?” With that she left her new spouse in the servant’s care, and taking in one hand a hatchet used for cutting wood, while with the other she carried a lamp, away went the fair one to the old ruin, where the coffin of her late husband had been last deposited. Arrived there, she tucked up her long sleeves, seized the hatchet with both hands, and lifting it above her head, struck with all her force upon the lid of the coffin, which split immediately in two. A woman’s strength would not have served to break the lid of an ordinary coffin ; but the philosopher, being aware that people sometimes return to life after seeming to be dead, had purposely directed that the planks of his coffin should be made very slight. A few more blows drove off the lid, and our lady, being out of breath with her exertions, stood still a moment to recover herself. At that instant she heard a deep sigh, and casting her eyes on the coffin, she saw her former husband move himself and sit up !

One may imagine her dismay at this apparition ; she uttered a loud scream, her legs tottered under her, and the axe fell unnoticed from her hands.—“ My

dear wife," said the philosopher calmly, "lend me your hand to get out of this." Once upon his legs, he took the lamp from her and walked towards the hall. The lady followed him, but with faltering steps, and sweating big drops; for she felt that her new husband must be the first object that met the eyes of her old one! When they reached the apartment, every thing looked gay and splendid, but the youth and his attendant seemed luckily to have vanished. This gave her a little courage, and she now began to contrive some way of escaping from her embarrassment; so casting a tender look at the philosopher, "Ah," cried she, "my thoughts have been occupied day and night with your dear memory: at length, having heard a distinct sound issue from the coffin, and recollecting the stories that they tell of dead persons returning to life, I flattered myself that you might be of the number. So I ran as fast as I could, and knocked off the lid. Thank Heaven, my hopes did not deceive me! What happiness to recover my dear husband, whose loss I should for ever have bewailed!"

"I am much obliged by your kind attention," said the philosopher; "but have still one little question to ask you. How is it you are not in mourning; what is the reason that you are dressed out in this fine brocade?" The answer was ready. "I went," she replied, "to open the coffin, with a secret foreboding of my happiness: the joy of the occasion called for anything but a mourning dress, and it was inconsistent to receive you alive in a habit that relates only to the dead: I therefore put on my wedding-clothes."—"Well, well," said he, "we will let that pass: but why was my coffin stowed away in the old ruin, instead of this hall, which was its proper place?" This question posed the lady, and she had nothing to say. Chuáng-tsze, then casting his eyes on the dishes and bowls, and other signs of rejoicing, considered them attentively without saying a word: he next called for some warm wine, and swallowed several cups in silence, while his wife stood by in the greatest confusion.

"Look behind you!" at length said the philosopher; and on turning round she perceived her intended with his follower, ready to enter the hall. This was a new subject of terror to her; but on looking round again they had vanished.\* In a word, this unhappy woman, finding all her intrigues discovered, and unable to survive her shame, retired to her chamber, and there, untying her silken girdle, hung herself by it to one of the beams. She soon became dead in earnest, without the chance of returning to plague her husband; who, finding her in that condition, cut her down very quietly, and, mending up his old coffin, laid her in it. Then striking up a mock dirge on the cups and bowls intended for the feast, he broke them all in pieces with great shouts of laughter, and ended by setting fire to the mansion, and burning his wife's body in the ruins, from which nothing was saved except the sacred book called *Tao-té-king*.

After that, the philosopher set out on his travels, quite resolved never to take another wife. In his wanderings, he fell in again with his master Lao-tse, to whom he attached himself for ever after, and became the first of his disciples.

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It remains for us to describe a variety of superstitious customs and observances which are practised by the Chinese, either with or without a particular relation to some *one* of the three sects, or persuasions, which have been already noticed. In common with a considerable portion of the rest of mankind, they are pretty generally fatalists, or believers in inevitable destiny; and the practical mischiefs of such a creed cannot be more strongly displayed than in the consequences resulting from their apathetic carelessness in regard to the use of *fire*. Notwithstanding the re-

\* The whole had been an illusion, practised by the adept in philosophy and magic.



peated conflagrations which every year devastate the town of Canton, the same unaccountable negligence is perpetually apparent to the most casual observer, who, in perambulating their streets, or taking notice of their domestic habits, cannot fail to be struck by the extreme carelessness with which burning paper and lighted sticks of incense are left about their combustible dwellings, or pipes smoked, and bunches of crackers discharged, in temporary edifices constructed entirely of *matting*. It has been already mentioned that, in the year 1822, the whole of the European factories were laid in ashes by a fire which originated in a small shop, and which, before it had run its course, destroyed a very considerable portion of the city. Some of these fires are doubtless the work of incendiaries, who hope to profit in the confusion; but a large number must also be considered as the results of that stupid belief in fatalism, which tends to paralyze effort and to banish caution. Hence the thriving trade that is carried on by fortune-tellers and calculators of destiny.

That the wiser and better portion of the Chinese, however, are occasionally above the influence of this roving sentiment, seems proved by the existence of a treatise in their language, wherein it is shown that a man may "lay the foundation of his own destiny;" or, in other words, that *conduct is fate*. The author relates, that being left by the death of his father without a guide at a very early age, he consulted an old man with a long beard, who professed the art of divination. This person told him that in such a year he should attain a scholar's degree at the public examination within his district, and that, in some other year, he should succeed at the higher trial at the provincial capital. It so happened that these events occurred as they had been predicted, and his faith became accordingly confirmed in the skill of the soothsayer, who next informed him, after predicting the various vicissitudes of his remaining life, that he

would die at the age of fifty-three, on a particular day, and at a particular hour of the morning confirmed in the belief that his whole course was thus fixed by an immutable decree he became henceforward quite indifferent to effort and exertion of every kind. It chanced that some time after, with a sage of a very unusual description, who took him to task for his "Can a man, then," inquired our disciple, "the allotments of destiny?" To which he replied, "Fate is of our own making, and happy result of our own conduct. The whole field of life is contained within the circumference of the heart, which, when once effectually moved, brings success. *Seeking* rests with ourselves, and has no influence upon *attainment*." Persuaded by this notion, the reformed believer in destiny first joined the Fō (for he was a Buddhist) that he might be successful in his pursuits, and then vowed to perform thousands of acts of merit that he might deserve. The sage drew out for him a register of conduct, one column of which his good deeds were entered, and in the other his errors; the first tended to his credit, and the last to be scored off as former increased.

In the following year an examination was held at Peking of those who had attained the highest rank in the provinces, and though the conjurer had predicted that our scholar should rank as only *third* among the successful candidates, it so happened that he was *first* on the list, and thus his faith in fortune was completely overturned. When the three years of acts of merit which he had formerly vowed were nearly completed, the thought of praying for a son (an essential ingredient of Chinese prosperity) next arose in his mind. He vowed the performance of three thousand good deeds, and after some time a son was born to him. On this occasion, however, the registration of acts

seemed to be a joint-stock concern, for whatever he did himself he recorded in writing; but his wife, who could not write, cut off the end of a goose-quill, and dipping it in vermilion, impressed a red point, for every good action she performed, in the register. The story says that there would sometimes be many of these in a day.

By perseverance in a similar course of virtue, our scholar at length attained to the rank and office of governor of a district. He now commenced a new blank register, and vowed to perform no less than ten thousand acts of merit. Somewhat dismayed at the extent of the undertaking, he one night applied for advice and instruction to some spiritual being which presented itself in a vision. The answer was, "Cur-tail the exactions on the people. This one act will be equal to the performance of the ten thousand." The land-tax of the district was then something more than one-fifth of a taël of silver per *mow*.<sup>\*</sup> A reduction was effected of nearly one-half. The magistrate told his vision to the sage who had put him upon his present course of life. "Doubtless," said the old man, "to perform one single act like this, with perfect integrity of motive, may be equal to the performance of ten thousand minor acts; for, by lessening the taxes of a whole district, ten thousand people may be benefited."—In a word, our Chinese had employed his ten talents to the best advantage. The fortune-teller had calculated that he would die in his fifty-third year; but he was already arrived at sixty-eight years of age, and was moreover quite well. Thus it was that the three great items of Chinese happiness, namely, "male progeny, official employment, and long life," were all enjoyed *in spite of fate*. The story seems to have been written for the express purpose of counteracting the general belief in the decrees of

\* About the eighth of an English acre, from which it would seem that rather more than ten shillings per acre is considered as a high tax.

immutable destiny, and lessening the credit of astrologers.

The general proneness of the Chinese to superstitious practices (most of which pertain to the Tao sect) could not be more completely proved than by an account of the charms, talismans, and felicitous appendages hung up in houses, or worn about the person, specimens of which were sent home to the Royal Asiatic Society, by Mr. J. Morrison, a son of the late Doctor.\* It will be sufficient if we describe a few of these. Among the principal are "money-swords," as they are called, consisting of a number of ancient copper coins, each with a square hole in the middle, fastened together over a piece of iron, shaped like a sword with a cross hilt. These are suspended at the heads of sleeping-couches and beds, that the supposed guardianship of the sovereigns, in whose reigns the coin was issued, may keep away ghosts and evil spirits. They are chiefly used in houses or rooms where persons have committed suicide, or suffered a violent death; and sick people sometimes resort to them in the hope of hastening their recovery. Their efficacy is no doubt fully equal to that of a horse-shoe nailed over a door, or any of those infallible devices formerly adopted in England against witches and ghosts. The Chinese have commonly a firm belief in, and consequently a great dread of, the wandering spirits of persons who have come to an unfortunate end, and which they denominate *kuei*. When Europeans first arrived in the country, their red or yellow hair, and high noses, were strongly opposed to the fair-ideal of Chinese comeliness. Mothers and nurses pointed them out as ogres and devils to their children, and hence the present term for any Europeans, *fân-kuei*, "foreign ghost, spirit, or devil," with some allusion, perhaps, to their *wandering so far from their homes*.

In illustration of the Chinese belief in ghosts, and

\* Royal Asiatic Transactions, vol. iii. p. 285.

may be styled "demoniacal possession," may be deemed an occurrence which took place at Canton in

The wife of an officer of government had occasioned the death of two female domestic slaves, from jealous suspicions, it was supposed, of her husband's conduct towards the girls; and in order to save herself from the consequences, she suspended herself by the neck, with a view to its being converted into an act of suicide. As the parents of the girls appealed to the magistrate for satisfaction, bribes were offered, and with success, to stop the progress of the story; but the conscience of the woman tormented her to such a degree that she became insane, and at length personated the victims of her cruelty, or, as the story is supposed, the spirits of the murdered girls possessed her, and employed her mouth to declare her guilt. In her ravings, she tore her clothes and lacerated her own person with all the fury of madness; which she would recover her senses for a time, but it was supposed that the demons quitted her; but she returned with greater fury, which took place a time previous to her death.

After her last fit she became worse than ever, and was removed to a room with an old woman-servant. But the troubling demons (according to the Chinese) being resisted at this attempt to conceal guilt, possessed the old woman also, who, either from terror or sympathy, had become affected like her mistress. The old woman died, and the affrighted husband endeavoured to quiet the distracted nurse, by telling her she should be maintained in one of the Buddhist nunneries, where she would become at length absorbed into the nature of Fö. She consented to this, on condition that he would worship her, which he forthwith agreed to do. The demon (say the Chinese), speaking by the old woman's mouth, further insisted that her two daughters, who had assisted the mother in lacerating the girls, should also come and worship, which was accordingly done; and on the arrival of the demon at the place of her retirement the souls of

among his friends, and having obtained a hundred different parties a few of the copper coins of the country, he himself adds the balance, and an ornament or appendage fashioned like a horn which he hangs on his child's neck, for the purpose of making him figuratively to *live*, and making the persons concerned in his attaining old age. A charm worn by children is a figure of the fabulous animal supposed to have appeared at the birth of Confucius, and therefore ominous of long life and good fortune to the young. On the day of the 5th moon, sprigs and cuttings of the *calamus*, and a plant called by the Chinese *pa-kua*, are placed at the doors of houses to prevent evil from entering. The "Peach charm" of a sprig of that tree covered with blossom at the new year, is placed at doorways for the same purpose as the foregoing. The *pa-kua*, or talisman diagrams of Fo-hy, cut in stone or wood, are often worn as charms; and the bottle-gourd, a species of the genus *cucurbitus* closely resembling a bottle, is represented in ornaments as a symbol of longevity. We have before stated that

be inferred from the value which they set on long life. The thing may be partly explained, however, by the great reverence with which age is always treated, and by the fact, that old persons commonly enjoy an unusually great share of comparative ease and exemption from toil, by the services which both opinion and law impose on their juniors. The greatest favour and distinction that the emperor can bestow on one of his ministers is the word *show*, "long life," written in a peculiar manner with his own hand, and supposed, no doubt, to be one of the best promoters of longevity. Persons of the lowest class, who have attained to an unusual age, have not unfrequently been distinguished by the emperor; and Kien-loong, when himself a very old man, gave a solemn feast to all his subjects of *every rank*, who had passed the usual term of human life! No doubt this solid foundation of their social and political system, on the patriarchal basis, has contributed to its steady duration.

The written spells which the Chinese sometimes use, consist of mystical compounds of various characters, or words, in which astrology is generally introduced, with the eight diagrams of Fo-hy, the twenty-eight lunar mansions, the *five* planets, &c. Some of these spells are kept about the person, others are pasted on the walls of rooms. "Occasionally," observes Mr. Morrison, "they are used as cures for sick persons, by being either written on leaves which are then infused in some liquid, or inscribed on paper, burned, and the ashes thrown into drink, which the patient has to swallow." This is not much worse, however, than the *aurum potabile* of the old materia medica among ourselves. For some reason or other, bats (which the Chinese call *fei-shoo*, "flying mice") are looked upon as good omens, and constantly depicted as an emblem of felicity on various objects of use or ornament. Even in *this*, perhaps, there is as much reason as in the Roman notion of learning the secrets of fate from the pecking of chickens, or in that

zoological list of ill-omens which Horace, either in jest or earnest, imprecates against the wicked,—

“Impios parvæ recinentis omen  
Ducat, et prægnans canis, aut ab agro  
Rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino,  
Fetaque vulpes;” &c.

The Chinese look upon rooks as unlucky birds, whose visits prognosticate visits still more unpleasant from the *mandarins*. There is, however, a species of white-necked crow for which they have a high veneration, as was proved in the last embassy. A gentleman of the party had carried a gun with him, in one of those long walks which we were accustomed to take at the frequent points of sojourn. The unusual appearance of this crow, with a white cravat, led to its being for once considered as fair *game*, and the bird was shot. The occurrence was reported to the emperor's legate, who conducted the embassy, and from him an earnest request was conveyed to the ambassador that no more such birds might be killed. “But it was only a crow,” was the natural answer. “Only a crow!” exclaimed the legate.—“Of all the birds that fly it should have been spared, for it is a sacred animal.” He then related a story respecting crows having once performed some essential public service, just as geese are said to have saved the Roman Capitol. This shows, at least, the utility of being acquainted with the most trivial superstitions of a country.

But the strangest and most unaccountable of the Chinese superstitions, is what they denominate *Foong-shuey*—“wind and water,” a species of geomancy, or a belief in the good or ill luck attached to particular local situations or aspects, which we had occasion to notice before, and which, among the more rational classes of the people, is admitted to be nonsensical. Before a house is built, or a burial-place selected, it is necessary to consult certain professors of the occult science, who, at the price of adequate fees, proceed with much solemnity to examine the situation. After



quently perambulating and examining the ground, and even deferring their decision for months, they will on some particular place. The lucky position of a grave is supposed to exercise some influence on the fortunes of a whole family; and if, after all the expense and trouble of consulting the cheats who profess the art, ill fortune rather than good should attend the result, this is, of course, attributed to anything except the inefficiency of the *foong-shuey*. This term may in general be construed by the word *luck*, and it has been proposed that in a country like China, where nearly all long journeys are performed by water, "good wind and water," or, in other words, good luck on a journey, by degrees come to signify good luck in every circumstance and condition of life.

It would seem scarcely possible that such fooleries as those above stated should meet with countenance and support in persons calling themselves Europeans; in 1821 a Portuguese of some local consideration at Macao contributed to the erection of a pagoda for improving the fortunes of the place! The following notice was exhibited, but it does not appear that the object of the proposed scheme was ever accomplished. The Chinese and foreign merchants have hitherto been prosperous, their wealth abounding, and the desires of the place altogether felicitous. Of late, however, its fortunes have waxed lean, and the influence of the atmosphere been unlucky, so that the acquisition of riches has become less certain. A proposal is accordingly made to erect a pagoda and a pavilion, in order to renovate and improve the commercial fortunes of the island. The plan has fortunately met with the concurrence of the Portuguese magistrate, who has offered one hundred dollars to assist in its execution. Leang-ta-tseuen, whose skill is universally acknowledged, and everywhere attended by incontestable proofs, has visited Macao, in order to fix a proper spot. He declares that a lofty pavilion should be erected on the sea-side, near the new village to the right of the temple of Ma-tsoo, and a high

L. H.

pagoda on the eastern arm of Monkey Island. He affirms that prosperity and riches will be the result—that both Chinese and strangers at Macao will share in the felicity. He has written a paper on the subject, and drawn out the plan, which has obtained the assent of the Portuguese magistrate; the permission of the *Keun-min-foo* (the Chinese magistrate of Macao) has also been graciously given. It is therefore resolved," &c.

The Chinese have a mode of divination by certain pieces of wood, in shape the longitudinal sections of a flattish oval. These are thrown by pairs, and according to the mode in which they turn up, a judgment is formed of any future event by consulting the interpretation afforded in a Sibylline volume which is hung up in the temple. If the throw, however, happens to be unlucky, they do not mind trying their chance *over again* until the answer is satisfactory. A plan of divination, of somewhat the same kind, is described by Tacitus in his account of the ancient Germans: "*Sortium consuetudo simplex; virgam frugiferæ arbori decissam in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt.*"\*

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\* Germ. x.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

THE written language of China realizes to a great extent the theory of a universal medium for the communication of ideas, as conceived by Bishop Wilkins, and methodized by him into an elaborate treatise which he presented to the Royal Society. While the letters of our alphabet are mere symbols of *sounds*, the Chinese characters, or words, are symbols of *ideas*, and alike intelligible to the natives of Cochin-China, Japan, Loo-choo, and Corea, with those of China itself. The best practical illustration of a written character, common to several nations who cannot understand each other's speech, are the Arabic numerals common to all Europe. An Englishman, who could not understand what an Italian meant if he said *venti-due*, would comprehend him immediately if he wrote down 22. This advantage, which belongs to our *numerals* only, pertains to the *whole language* of the Chinese, and those other nations who use the same characters, without affixing to them the same pronunciation.

No connexion or resemblance whatever is to be traced between the written language of China and the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The former, indeed, is a much more artificial and ingenious system than the last, which had not advanced beyond the rude representations of visible objects; while the Chinese, although it seems to have *originated* in something of the same kind, is now anything but a collection of mere pictures. They have no less than six different forms of *writing or printing*, just as we have the black letter, the roman, the italic, the written, and the running-hand forms. Indeed the Chinese running-hand might

very easily be taken for an alphabetic character, though it differs from most of these systems in being written in *perpendicular columns*, like the Manchow Tartar language.

The rumoured difficulties attendant on the acquisition of Chinese, from the great number and variety of the characters, are the mere exaggerations of ignorance, and so far mischievous as they are calculated to deter many from the pursuit, whose business takes them to the country, and would no doubt be greatly promoted by some practical acquaintance with its language. The roots, or original characters of the Chinese, (or what, by a species of analogy, may be called its *alphabet*,) are only 214 in number, and might indeed be reduced to a much smaller amount by a little dissection and analysis. To assert that there are so many thousand characters in the language is very much the same thing as to say that there are so many thousand words in Johnson's Dictionary; nor is a knowledge of the *whole* at all more necessary for every practical purpose, than it is to get all Johnson's Dictionary by heart, in order to read and converse in English. Prémare very correctly observes,—“*neminem esse qui non possit libros legere et Sinice componere, quando semel quatuor vel quinque millia litterarum (aut verborum) bene novit*”—“that there is nobody who might not read and write Chinese, after he had once acquired a good knowledge of 4000 or 5000 characters or words.” A *much smaller* number might, in fact, suffice; and it is worthy of remark, that the entire number of *different* words, apart from repetitions, in the Penal Code translated by Sir George Staunton, was under 2000.

The roots which we have mentioned serve, like our alphabet, for the arrangement of the words in the large Chinese Dictionary, compiled more than a hundred years since by order of the Emperor K'ang-hy; and so ingenious and lucid is the arrangement, that to a practised person there is little more difficulty in turning to a word than among ourselves in con-

sulting Johnson. The main portion of Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary is arranged on the same principle. *One* part, however, is on a different plan, which requires that the searcher after a word should know its *pronunciation* before he can find it. This (which is an attempt to imitate the European method) is by far less certain than the proper Chinese mode, which requires no knowledge whatever of the *sound* of a word, but only of its *composition* : and this is obvious to any person who knows the roots. These roots answer the purpose of our alphabet in lexicographic arrangement, and may be considered, besides, as the foundation of the *meaning* of each word to which they serve as root.

From the principle on which the written language has been constructed, there has ensued to it a remarkable property, which did not escape the penetration of the late Professor Rémusat, in his paper on "the state of the natural sciences among the people of Eastern Asia." As the 214 roots or radical characters (whose combinations with each other form the whole language) singly represent or express the principal objects or ideas that men have occasion to communicate in the infancy of their knowledge, they comprise within their number the heads of *genera* and *classes* in nature, and thus afford the elements and means of a philosophical system of arrangement. As their knowledge increased, "a fortunate instinct," as M. Rémusat calls it, guided the framers of the language, and led them, instead of forming characters altogether new, to express new objects by the ingenious combination of those elementary symbols which they already possessed. Thus, for instance, among the roots we find *horse, dog, metal, &c.* ; and the *addition* of some *other* significant symbol, expressive of some peculiar property or characteristic, serves to designate the different species comprised under these principal genera. In this manner, as M. Rémusat observes, each natural object becomes provided with a binary denomination,

inasmuch as the complex character is necessarily formed of two parts; one for the class, order, or genus, the other for the species or variety. Thus they express *horse*, *horse-ass*, *horse-mule*; *dog*, *dog-wolf*, *dog-fox*; *metal*, *metal-iron*, *metal-copper*, *metal-silver*; the *elementary* or *generic* words, *horse*, *dog*, *metal*, being those under which the compounds are arranged in the dictionary.

Thousands of terms have been thus compounded, and thousands more may be constructed in the same way; for the process by which they are created, and which is strictly analogous to the principle of the Linnæan nomenclature, is one which cannot be exhausted by repetition; and from this simple sketch it may be conceived how much aid the understanding and memory may gain by the employment of signs of this rational nature, in a subject of such immense compass, in which order and method constitute the first pledge of the progress of studies and the advancement of knowledge. M. Rémusat goes on to show that the Chinese have not derived the advantage which they might to their science, from this happy constitution of their language; and that their naturalists have not made the progress which they should have done, in the course traced out for them by the lexicographers. For it must be remembered that this systematic arrangement was a mere classification of written signs, brought together by the dictionary makers, and distributed by them according to the component and elementary parts, with a view solely to facilitating the search for them. Persons who could avail themselves of signs so judiciously contrived and arranged, and including within themselves a principle of order and the elements of analysis, might have been expected to perfect in their scientific labours what the mere etymology of the characters suggested to them: but without denying the decided superiority of the Chinese, in this respect, to the other people of Asia, they must be confessed to have made but an imperfect

use of their opportunities and means. The whole essay of M. Rénusat on this curious subject is deserving of perusal.

The highly artificial and philosophic structure of so singular a language entitles it to the attention of intelligent persons, as a part of the history of the human mind. But it has now other powerful claims to notice, from being the medium through which at least *four hundred millions* of mankind, occupying countries which exceed the united extent of all Europe, communicate their ideas. With the growth of our commerce, and of our Protestant missions, the value and importance of its acquisition may no doubt increase in estimation. By only knowing how to write a few hundred Chinese words, a man can make himself understood over an extent of 2000 miles of latitude, from Japan in the north to Cochin-China in the south. As a portion of general literature alone, and without one half of the practical importance which attaches to it among ourselves, the French have long since thought it worthy of the endowment of a professor's chair: and that nothing of the kind should as yet have existed in England is remarkable.\*

The uniformity in the *written* character has not prevented the existence of very considerable diversities in the *oral* languages of the different provinces of China, and especially the province of Fokien. These diversities are analogous to the different pronunciation given to the same numerals in the various countries of Europe. To adduce the example with which we set out, the number 22, which an Italian calls *venti-due*, a Frenchman pronounces *vingt-deux*; and, in like manner, the Chinese numerals expressive of the same amount are read *wrh-she-wrh* by the native of Peking, while the Canton man calls them *ee-shap-ee*, although both *write* them exactly alike. It is in this

\* Since the above was written, a Chinese professorship has been instituted at the London University.

way that the universality of the Chinese language extends only to the written character, and that the natives of the two extremities of the empire, who read the same books, and understand each other perfectly on *paper*, are all but mutually unintelligible in *speech*.

There is, however, one mode of pronouncing the written language, that of Peking, or of the court, which is universally adopted in official translations, and in the intercourse of the higher orders all over the empire. This has been termed by Europeans the Mandarin dialect, and is called in Chinese *Kuán-lua*, which has the same meaning; and this of course is the proper dialect for strangers to learn, as being of most extensive use. The total number of different syllables does not much exceed four hundred, but these are varied by intonations sufficiently distinct to the ear of a native, so as to treble or quadruple that amount. The danger of misunderstanding in *speech* (for there can be none in *writing*) is obviated by joining two words together to express any particular object, thus making in fact a word of two syllables. For instance, in the oral language, *foo* means "father," but it also means "an axe," and the possibility of the equivocal is prevented by saying, in the first instance, *foo-tsin* (father-relation), and, in the second, *foo-tow* (axe-head), which circumstance tends to render the written language much more brief and concise than the spoken, as it has no need of such expletives.

The Chinese attach much consideration to the graphic beauty of their written character, and make use of inscriptions for ornamental purposes, as may be often seen on the specimens of porcelain brought to this country. The advantage of simplicity (and a very great advantage it is) constitutes the merit of our alphabetic writing; but that of variety and picturesque effect may fairly be claimed by the Chinese.\*

\* "The almost infinite variety of forms which the Chinese



portance of caligraphy as an accomplishment, rally esteemed more highly among them than Europe; and large ornamental inscriptions, or are frequently exchanged as remembrances friends, or used as pictures are among us, for s of taste and decoration. The two most usual f their character are, first, that in which books monly printed,\* and which being stiff and in-, lays claim only to clearness and accutracy; y, that in which all papers of consequence are and which combines correctness with ele-

The last is at once the most useful and the idied form of the Chinese character. To attain writing it is more or less the aim of every edu-hinese; and to impart that skill is the object rk whose rules have been translated by the of these pages, and its examples given in a f lithographic plates, in the Royal Asiatic tions.†

ing can exceed the neatness and beauty of notes and letters, which are generally written mental paper of various colours, called by flowered leaves." They sign with a cipher, very man adopts for himself, being a few cha-combined in a complicated manner into *one*. : mode of attestation is by affixing the stamp l, not in wax, but in red ink. It would be an suppose that the language, however calculated structure for durability, has *not* changed to a degree in the course of time. Some charac-vords have become obsolete; others have been ly adopted; and, above all, the whole is much pious than in ancient times. In their earlier is in the sacred Classics noticed in our twelfth

al character is capable of receiving, is certainly fa-to the beauty, and, it may almost be said, picturesque uch inscriptions."—*Staunton*.  
ogous to our Roman type.

*i. p. 304.*

chapter) there is a much greater economy of words than in more modern literature. A portion of the difficulty or obscurity of ancient authors arises from the same word being used, for example, in different senses, or as a different part of speech,—a defect which time, and the multiplication of the symbols of ideas, have tended to supply. A great increase especially has taken place in those *particles* of speech, which become the more necessary in a language, in proportion as there is less inflexion, and which therefore abound more in the modern tongues of Europe than in the ancient sources whence they are derived. In Chinese there is no inflexion whatever, and therefore these particles become the more indispensable; indeed, native writers call them by the express term of *tsou-yu*, “assistants of speech.”

As we cannot go far into this subject in a work of the present description, it may suffice to observe, generally, that the grammar of the language is extremely limited. In the absence of all inflexion, the relation of words to each other in a sentence can only be marked by their *position*. The verb, for instance, must always precede its object, and follow its agent. The plural number is denoted by the affix of *mun* to nouns,—*jin-mun*, men, *t'ha-mun*, they; or by repeating the noun, as *jin jin*, men. Either of these is rendered unnecessary when a specific number is prefixed, as *san jin*, three men. The genitive or possessive case is generally denoted by the affix *che*, succeeding the noun like our 's, as *T'ien che gen*, “Heaven's favour.” The comparison of adjectives is marked by affixes, as *haou*, “good,” *keng haou*, “more good,” *ting haou*, “most good.” The structure of Chinese phrases is often discoverable in the broken English of Canton, which is a *Chinese idiom in English words*. The tenses of verbs are denoted by auxiliaries or expletives, as *t'ha lae*, “he comes,” *t'ha yaou lae*, “he shall come.” The cases of nouns and pronouns are determined by prepositions, as *yu ne*, “to thee,” which sometimes become postpositions, as *ty-lea*, “the earth below”—

under the earth. They have a species of numeral adjuncts which they join on to nouns, for the sake of perspicuity in speech, as *yě pun shoo*, "a *volume* book ;" *san kuán peih*, "three *reed* pencils," &c. The collocation of words must upon the whole be considered as of more importance in this than in those other languages where the relations of different words to each other are marked by the infallible distinctions of number, gender, case, and person, as shown by *inflection*. The Chinese themselves divide their words into three great classes: first, "live words," or verbs—denoting action or passion; secondly, "dead words," or nouns, substantive and adjective—the names and qualities of things; thirdly, "auxiliaries of speech," or particles that assist expression.

By far the best introduction to the language of China is the *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*\* of Prémare, composed in the last century, but printed only a few years since at the Malacca college, at the expense of Lord Kingsborough. Professor Neumann, of Munich, has lately shown that Rémusat's French Grammar was greatly indebted to this work. Where there is so little of what can strictly be called grammatical rules, the proper way to teach is by *examples* rather than precepts; and this is what Prémare has done, illustrating the subject by quotations from the best works in the native character. It is a pity, however, in the present disuse of the learned languages, that the work had not been printed in English rather than in Latin, with a view to general utility. It consists of two parts, with an introduction giving a general account of Chinese books, and the method of studying them, and a treatise on the character and its pronunciation. The first part is on the ordinary language of conversation and popular books; the second treats of the more abstruse and condensed style of scholastic composition and of the ancient books, which forms, however, the basis of the popular language. With the

\* See list of works in Introduction.

aid of Prémare's work, and Dr. Morrison's Dictionary, it is in the power of any one to learn Chinese, as far as *books only* are concerned. To be able to converse in it, he must go to China.

Dr. Morrison has given a curious account, from original sources, of the rules which govern native scholars in the prosecution of their studies. The first thing needful is "to form a resolution," and this resolution is valuable in proportion as it is firm and persevering. It is received as a maxim, that "the object on which a determined resolution rests *must* succeed." The student is directed to keep by him a commonplace book and daily to record in it what he reads; then at intervals of ten or twenty days to recapitulate and con over what he has before learned; "thus the lover of learning daily acquires new ideas, and does not lose those he already possesses." The scholar who does not rouse all his energies is told to consider how he is to get through his task when locked up with nothing but pencils, ink, and paper, at the public examination. "Should a theme be there given him which he cannot manage, let him reflect what his distress will be."

When a man is reading a particular section of a work, he is directed, in this treatise *on the conduct of the understanding*, to give up his whole mind to that alone, and on no account to let it be diverted for the time by any other subject. "A caldron of water, for example, after fire has been long applied to it, will at last boil; but if, in the mean while, you change the water and put on fresh, though a great deal of water will be partially heated, none will be made boiling hot. I have seen (says the Chinese writer) those men who covet much, and devote themselves to universal knowledge. When they read, they presume on the quickness of their genius, and section after section passes before their eyes,—but when do they ever really apply their minds to the subject? Better a little and *fine*, than much and coarse. The ancient military rule makes the power of an army to consist in its per-

fect training, and not in its mere numbers. I deem the same to be true in reference to reading."

In study, a main point is to get rid of extraneous thoughts, and matters foreign to the object before one. The illustration of this subject of feeding the intellect is taken from the feeding of the body. "If a man's stomach (they say) is filled with coarse and ordinary food, he can swallow nothing more, though the most precious dainties be placed before him. In reading, the same is true of the mixed and vulgar thoughts of every-day life, which occupy and fill up the mind." Another important point is the ready *application* of acquired knowledge. A certain class of men, though they have read a great many books, are incapable of transferring and using the stores they have laid up. "There is one convenient rule (it is added) for a man who has many worldly affairs to attend to: it is to make a good selection of a volume of ancient literature, and another of modern composition, and to place them on his table. When a little leisure is gained, let him study them. If, instead of adopting this plan, he wait until he may be entirely at leisure for months, the expected period is likely never to arrive. Time flies like an arrow; in the twinkling of an eye a month, and again a month, is gone, and behold the year is at an end! This loss and detriment arise entirely from putting off to the future.

"Studies ought to commence (it is observed) during the fifth watch (before five in the morning), for these early hours are many times more advantageous than the subsequent forenoon, and later portions of the day. The *attention* should be as intensely exerted as that of a general at the head of his army, or a criminal judge in a court. On no account should there be breaks of five and ten days in one's studies. 'Do not fear being slow; only fear standing still—fear one day's scorching heat, followed by ten of cold.' In prosecuting a journey on the road, he who walks fast and stops frequently does not get on so well as he who walks *constantly and at a slower pace*. Study, however, though

it should not be intermitted or delayed, ought not to be followed with too great eagerness and precipitancy; for, admitting that a man can, if he tries, walk a hundred *ly* a day, yet if he walk only seventy or eighty, he will feel himself strong and equal to this exertion daily; whereas, by working himself up to overstrained effort he will make himself ill, and thus more time will be lost than learning gained.

"When approaching the time of public examination, a student should particularly shun an eagerness to read much, for, if not before done, it is then too late. Let the duly-prepared scholar select twenty or thirty sections of the best composition, and con it over till he relish its beauties and feel its spirit; he will surely derive strength from this at the period of trial." The treatise goes on to comment on the folly of collecting books instead of reading them. "There are many men (it is observed) who store up at home 10,000 volumes, and never read ten works out of them; they merely buy the books and place them in cases as playthings to look at. They have newly-bound books, which no hand has opened, nor eye has looked over. Such people are much below the poor starved scholar, who takes a few copper coins, and buys a book which he carries home, but never puts out of his hand until it is entirely his own."\* These are the precepts by which the native Chinese student is urged on in a course which the ancient policy of his government has laid open to all ranks, and made the sole pathway to political employment, distinction, and power.

"One of the most remarkable national peculiarities of the Chinese," observes Sir George Staunton, "is their extraordinary addiction to letters, the general prevalence of literary habits among the middling and higher orders, and the very honourable pre-eminence which from the most remote period has been universally conceded to that class which is exclusively devoted to literary pursuits. \* \* \* \* Since the memorable

\* Morrison's Dictionary, vol. i. p. 753.

era of Confucius, the Chinese empire has been repeatedly dismembered, and again restored to its integrity ; its sceptre has passed through the hands of many families or dynasties ; it has been a prey to many intestine divisions and revolutions, and it has been twice subdued by a foreign foe ; but the reverence of the government and people for the name and institutions of Confucius has survived every change.

\*\*\*\* Even now, under the sway of that comparatively illiterate and warlike race which conquered the empire in the middle of the seventeenth century, and still holds it in subjection, several individuals, recognised as the actual heirs and representatives of the sage, are decorated with honorary distinctions, and maintained in a state of respectable independence at the public charge. Schools and colleges for the instruction of the people in his doctrines continue to flourish in every part of the empire ; a competent acquaintance with his writings continues to be an indispensable qualification for civil office.

“ Under the influence of such institutions, it is by no means surprising that the proportion of the community exclusively devoted to letters should be much greater in China than it is in any other country on the surface of the globe. It is so great as to constitute of itself a distinct class in the state. It is the first and most honourable of the four classes, into which the body of the people is considered as divisible according to the Chinese political system ; namely, the literary, the agricultural, the manufacturing, and the mercantile. \*\*\*\* The advantages arising from so extensive a diffusion of a familiar acquaintance with what may be called their Confucian or classical literature, will more fully appear when the nature of that moral system is considered, which it is the uniform tendency of its pages to inculcate. Du Halde informs us that ‘ *Toute la doctrine de ce philosophe tendoit à redonner à la nature humaine ce premier lustre, et cette première beauté qu’elle avoit reçue du ciel, et que avoit été obscurcie par les ténèbres de l’ignorance, et*

par la contagion des vices. Il conseilloit, pour y parvenir, d'obéir au Seigneur du ciel, de l'aimer et de la craindre, d'aimer son prochain comme soi-même, de vaincre ses penchans, de ne prendre que ses passions pour règle de sa conduite, de les soumettre à la raison, de l'écouter en toutes choses, de rien faire, de ne rien dire, de ne rien penser qui lui fût contraire.'

"In the same spirit is the statement or sum of the Chinese moral system, which the Emperor of China in 1713 directs to be given by his ambassador to the Russian government. 'If you are asked we principally esteem and reverence in China, may thus reply: In our empire fidelity, filial piety, charity, justice, and sincerity are esteemed as the chief things. We revere and abide by them: they are the principles upon which we administer the empire as well as govern ourselves. We likewise make sacrifices and oblations: we pray for good things, deprecate evil things; but if we did not act thus, if we were not faithful, pious, charitable, just, sincere, of what avail would be our prayers and sacrifices?' The universal veneration of the Chinese for the memory of Confucius is of itself no small proof of the excellence of his doctrines. It is strikingly manifested by the special dedication of temple honours in all the chief cities of the empire. \*

In the lateral galleries of their temples a number of smaller tablets are generally displayed, on which are carefully recorded the names and virtues of the deceased inhabitants of the district as well as of those who, to deserve, either on account of their private or their public services, this posthumous distinction. \* \* \* \* \* Everything that is subservient to, or connected with, literary objects in China is carried to a high degree of refinement, and blended with all the necessary concerns of pleasure and of business, in that may seem extravagant and puerile; \* but so

\* Their customary reverence for letters is such, that they will not tread upon written or printed paper.



attachment to the forms and instruments by which knowledge is conveyed could hardly exist altogether independently of a regard for their object.\*

In a general classification of the literature of the country, those sacred or canonical works, which have already been briefly described in the twelfth chapter, must of course be placed at the head of the list. The *sun king*, which means a sacred book, has been usurped by the Budhists and sectaries of Taou in application to their own religious works, but in strictness it applies only to the writings of Confucius and his school. Next to these in rank are those moral and political essays which have the sanction of the government and of the learned. The *Shing-yu*, or sacred list, a work to which we have had occasion to refer, stands high in the list of moral and didactic books, consisting of essays written by the Emperor Yoong-ning, or theses furnished by his father and predecessors, K'ang-hy. A very respectable translation of this work was published by Dr. Milne many years back, and we may here give his own account of the book.

It treats of moral duties and of political economy. Like all similar Chinese productions, it *begins* with filial piety, and thence branches out into various other relative duties, according to their supposed importance. Indeed, on whatever subject a Chinese writer treats, he can at all times with the utmost facility draw arguments for its support from the relation between parent and child.† Even the grossest absurdities of their idolatry are thus supported. The work we are now considering is in general, for the matter of it, well worth a perusal. Though Christians can derive no improvement to their ethics from it, yet it will confirm them more and more in the belief of two

\* Miscellaneous Notices, part ii. p. 6.

† It may be observed, that the duties of this relation are supported occasionally by arguments and illustrations drawn very unexpectedly from nature. "Look," say they, "at the lamb and the kid, which *kneel* when they are suckled by the mother."

important points, viz. that God has not left himself without a witness in the minds of the heathen; and that the bare light of nature as it is called, even when aided by all the light of pagan philosophy, is totally incapable of leading men to the knowledge and worship of the true God. Yet, for my own part as an individual, I am of opinion that, as all truth and all good come originally from the same source, so we ought to look with a degree of reverence on these fragments of just sentiment and good principle which we sometimes meet with among the heathen.\*

There is more common sense, as well as more Christianity in this, than in that culpable spirit of detraction which has sometimes pervaded the writings of those who undertook to enlighten the Chinese.

Like the Hebrews, the Chinese number the words of their most valued books: and one object of this has been to divide the aggregate into daily or monthly portions for the learner. The work above noticed is called *Wan-yen-yu*, the "scripture of 10,000 words," and said actually to contain that number. It is appointed to be read publicly at new and full moon to the people and soldiery of each province, though in spring and autumn it is frequently omitted, on account of the labours of agriculture. Early on the first and fifteenth day of every moon, the civil and military officers meet full dressed in a spacious public hall. The superintendent, or master of the ceremonies, calls aloud, "Stand forth in order;" which they do, according to their rank. He then says, "Kneel thrice, and bow the head nine times." They kneel and prostrate themselves with their faces towards a raised eminence, on which is a tablet with the emperor's name. He next calls aloud, "Rise and retire;" upon which they proceed to the place where the law is usually read, and where the military and people are assembled, standing round in silence. The reciter or orator, advancing towards an altar of incense, kneels, and

\* Chinese Gleaner, vol. ii. p. 29.

reverently taking the board on which the thesis appointed for the day is written, ascends a stage with it. Silence being then commanded by a species of wooden rattle, or *sistrum*, the text is read aloud, after which the orator explains the sense. The same forms are observed in expounding the laws generally; for the Chinese have a maxim, that "to make the laws universally known is the best way to prevent their violation."

Among their other moral and didactic works, they have collections of detached sentences and aphorisms, of which they are extremely fond, and for the expression of which their language is singularly well adapted. Pairs of these sentences, displaying a parallelism of construction, as well as meaning, and written in a fine character on ornamental labels, are a frequent decoration of their dwellings and temples. There is a work in a single volume, called *Ming-sin paou-kien*, "A precious Mirror to throw light on the Mind," being in fact a dictionary of quotations, filled with such extracts from various works, and therefore very useful to a learner. The favourite sayings and proverbs of all nations are among the best sources of information respecting their real character and condition; and with this view the reader is presented below with a collection, which has been made without any regard to arrangement or order:—

- "1. A wise man adapts himself to circumstances, as water shapes itself to the vessel that contains it.
2. Misfortunes issue out where diseases enter in—at the mouth.
3. The error of one moment becomes the sorrow of a whole life.
4. Diseases may be cured, but not destiny.
5. A vacant mind is open to all suggestions, as the hollow mountain returns all sounds.
6. When the tree is felled, its shadows disappear.  
(*Desertion of the great by their parasites.*)

7. He who pursues the stag, regards not hares.
8. To be afraid of leaving a track, and yet walk upon snow.
9. If the roots be left, the grass will grow again (Reason given for exterminating a traitor's family.)
10. Relaxation above produces remissness below. (In authority.)
11. The gem cannot be polished without friction, no man perfected without trials.
12. What is told in the ear, is often heard a hundred miles off.
13. Ivory is not obtained from rats' teeth. (Said in contempt.)
14. A wise man forgets old grudges.
15. Riches come better after poverty than poverty after riches.
16. A bird can roost but on one branch; a mouse can drink no more than its fill from a river. (Enough is as good as a feast.)
17. When the pool is dry, the fish will be seen. (When accounts are settled, the balance of profits will appear.)
18. You cannot strip two skins off one cow. (There is a limit to extortion.)
19. Who swallows quick can chew but little. (Applied to learning.)
20. What cannot be told had better not be done.
21. The torment of envy is like a grain of sand in the eye.
22. He who wishes to rise in the world should veil his ambition with the forms of humility.
23. Extreme delight produces its contrast.
24. The gods cannot help a man who loses opportunities.\*
25. Dig a well before you are thirsty. (Be prepared against contingencies.)

\* "Pour être grand homme, il faut savoir profiter de toute sa fortune."—*La Rochefoucauld*.

8. Sweet words are poison; bitter words, physic. (Flattery and reproof.)
7. The full stomach cannot comprehend the evil of hunger.
8. To eat stolen food without wiping the lips. (The practices of a rogue without his art.)
9. Carelessness gives temptation to dishonesty.
0. Eggs are close things, but the chicks come out at last. (Murder will out.)
1. To swim with one foot on the ground. (A safe and prudent character.)
2. When *Yen-wáng* (the King of Hell) has decreed a man to die at the third watch, no power will detain him till the fifth.
3. Better be a dog in peace than a man in anarchy.
4. Letters and husbandry—the two principal professions.
5. To add feet to a snake. (Superfluity in a discourse when the subject is exhausted.)
6. A diligent pen supplies memory and thought.
7. Who aims at excellence will be above mediocrity; who aims at mediocrity will fall short of it.
8. Pouring water on a duck's back. (Fruitless counsel or advice.)
9. To win a cat, and lose a cow. (Consequences of litigation.)
0. To stop the hand is the way to stop the mouth. (If a man will not work, neither shall he eat.)
1. *No medicine* is the safe medium in physic. (Between that which cures, and that which kills.)
2. Old age and faded flowers, no remedies can revive.
3. I will not try my porcelain bowl against his earthen dish. (Said in contempt.)
4. He who toils with pain will eat with pleasure.
5. No duns outside, and no doctors within. (Absence of sickness and debt.)
6. *Forbearance* is a domestic jewel.
7. *An oil-jar* can be used again for nothing but oil.

(A man must follow what he was bred to—*Sem imbuta, &c.*)

48. Kindness is more binding than a loan.
49. Borrowed money makes time short; working for others makes it long.
50. The friendship of mandarins impoverishes; that of merchants makes rich.
51. All that a fish drinks goes out at the gills. (Spent as soon as got.)
52. If families have no sons devoted to letters, whence are the governors of the people to come? (Necessity for general education.)
53. Those who cannot sometimes be unheeding (or deaf) are not fit to rule.
54. Right should be preferred to kindred. (In patronage.)
55. A wife can be answerable for no crime; the responsibility rests with the husband.
56. The bees have their kings and ministers; and ants their social relations.
57. Parents' affection is best shown by teaching their children industry and self-denial.
58. Something is learned every time a book is opened.
59. The more talents are exercised, the more they will be developed.
60. Unless the laws be executed even on the imperial kindred, they will not be obeyed.
61. Early preferment makes a lazy genius.
62. The best thing in governing is example; the next, impartial rigour.
63. Great wealth comes by destiny; moderate wealth by industry.
64. The ways of superiors are generally carried by inferiors to excess.
65. A rash man is fond of provoking trouble, but when the trouble comes, he is no match for it; a clever man turns great troubles into little ones, and little ones into none at all.
66. Large fowls will not eat small grain. (Great mandarins are not content with little bribes.)

7. A truly great man never puts away the simplicity of the child.
8. To obtain *one* leads to wishing for *two*. (*Enough* is always something more than a man possesses.)
9. Lookers-on may be better judges of the game than the players.
10. The best thing is to be respected, and the next to be loved; it is bad to be hated, but worse still to be despised.
11. A fat hen makes fat chickens. (A rich master has sleek servants.)
12. The poor cannot contend with the rich, nor the rich with the powerful.
13. The man in boots does not know the man in shoes. (Boots are the official and full dress.)
14. Good fortune is a benefit to the wise, but a curse to the foolish.
15. While at their ease, men burn no incense; but when trouble comes, they clasp the feet of Fō.
16. A man's words are like an arrow, straight to the mark; a woman's are like a broken fan.
17. Domestic failings should not be published abroad.
18. A good action goes not beyond the doors; a bad one is carried a hundred leagues.
19. Virtue is sought for in a wife; beauty in a hand-maid.
20. A foolish husband fears his wife; a prudent wife obeys her husband.
21. If the upper beam be crooked, the lower will be awry. (Effect of example in superiors.)
22. Obsequiousness makes friends; candour breeds dislike.
23. One lash to a good horse; one word to a wise man.
24. He who does not soar high will suffer the less by a fall.
25. The grass endures but one season; man lasts but one generation.
26. The drunkard's fault is not the wine's, but his

own. (Drunkenness cannot be pleaded in extenuation.)

87. The man who combats himself will be happier than he who contends with others.
88. Sleepiness in an old man, and wakefulness in a young one, are bad symptoms. (Medical axiom.)
89. The fish dwell in the depths of the waters, and the eagles in the sides of heaven; the one, though high, may be reached with the arrow, and the other, though deep, with the hook; but the heart of a man, at a foot distance, cannot be known.\*
90. It is equally criminal in the emperor and the subject to violate the laws.
91. Let every man sweep the snow from before his own doors, and not busy himself about the frost on his neighbour's tiles.
92. In a field of melons, do not pull up your shoe; under a plum-tree do not adjust your cap. (Be careful of your conduct under circumstances of suspicion.)
93. A man need only correct himself with the same rigour that he reprehends others; and excuse others with the same indulgence that he shows to himself.
94. Though the life of man be short of a hundred years, he gives himself as much pain and anxiety as if he were to live a thousand.
95. By nature, all men are alike; but by education widely different."

Some of the ordinary expressions of the Chinese are pointed and sarcastic enough. A blustering harmless fellow they call "a paper tiger." When a man values himself overmuch, they compare him to "a rat falling into a scale, and weighing itself." Overdoing a thing, they call "a hunchback making a bow."—A spend-

\* Dr. Milne remarked the similitude to Proverbs xiv. 3 "The heaven for height, and the earth for depth, and the heart of kings is unsearchable."



thrift they compare to "a rocket," which goes off at once.—Those who expend their charity on remote objects, but neglect their family, are said to "hang a lantern on a pole," which is seen afar, but gives no light below.

But to return to their regular literature, of which histories may be said to occupy the *second* class, after their sacred, moral, and didactic works. There is a continuous history of China from the earliest ages down to the conclusion of the *Yeun*, or Mongol Tartar dynasty, called the "Twenty-one historians," consisting of nearly three hundred of those *brochures*, or thin volumes stitched with silk, about ten of which are generally contained in a folding case. We shall treat of printing under the head of Arts hereafter, but may observe incidentally in this place, that the early invention of this art, in the tenth century, just five hundred years before it was known in Europe, was a circumstance that tended to multiply and preserve the Chinese annals, and to afford abundant materials to the writers of later times. Yet we should search in vain in their histories for anything beyond a barren chronicle of facts and dates. Trains of reasoning and lessons of political philosophy can scarcely be looked for in a country the theory of whose government has always been despotic, however tempered by other circumstances. "Instead of allowing (observes Mr. Gutzlaff very correctly) that common mortals had any part in the affairs of the world, they speak only of the emperors who then reigned. They represent them as the sources from which the whole order of things emanated, and all others as mere puppets who moved at the pleasure of the autocrat. This is truly Chinese; the whole nation is represented by the emperor, and absorbed in him."

The same writer quotes a native authority in support of that scepticism regarding the earlier or mythological periods of Chinese history which we took upon ourselves to express in the fifth chapter. "Who (*inquires Yangtsze*) knows the affairs of remote anti-

quity, since no authentic records have come down to us? He who examines the stories will find it difficult to believe them, and careful scrutiny will convince him that they are without foundation. In the early ages no historical records were kept. Why, since the ancient books that described those ages were burnt by the first emperor of the *Chin* dynasty (about 200 B.C.), should we misrepresent those ages, and satisfy ourselves with vague fables? The inconsistencies contained in the early relations destroy the credit of the whole, and prove them to have been, in a great measure, like the mythology of other countries, the inventions or improvements of later times.

Perhaps there is no portion of Chinese literature so little interesting to us as its *barren annals*, in which the principal events recorded are the successions of dynasties of sovereigns, and the mere domestic chronicle of a country which has always had less connection with the rest of the world than any other empire, to the same extent. There is some reason, therefore, for the opinion already quoted of Prémare, who says of Chinese historians at the bottom of their list of faults, "not because they write worse than others, but because he did not much care to know the events they relate." In our own opinion, the only really valuable Chinese chronicle is the *San-kuö-chy*, or "History of the Three States," comprising that period of Chinese history when the monotony of universal dominion was broken by the contests of several independent states for the sovereignty. This work, however, is rather to be viewed in the light of an historical romance than as a mere matter of record, though the speeches are put into the mouths of its heroes and actors quite as likely to be genuine as those which we find in Livy and other ancient writers of Europe.

The interest of Chinese history, to a foreigner, is most engaging when the country is involved in contests with the Tartars, or subjected by their invasions. "The struggle (observes Mr. Gutzlaff) ag-

Tartar hordes on the north and west, became very violent during the Tâng and Soong dynasties, and ended in the submission of the whole of China to the Mongols, about A.D. 1280. This period is highly interesting. Chinese writers have dwelt much upon the reigns of the emperors (of their own nation) who held the throne during these times of commotion, and we find in their works abundant materials for a history of the period. But for composing a history of the Mongol dynasty, we ought to have recourse to foreign helps; as the Chinese writers say comparatively little respecting it. They consider the family which then reigned as usurpers, sprung from the barbarians who first laid waste the celestial empire, and then trampled 'the flowery nation' under foot. Kublai, however, has his biographers and historians among the Chinese, but none of them equal Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, in the interest of their narratives. To make ourselves acquainted with the *Ming* dynasty (the native race, which expelled the Mongols), the Chinese can afford us one work of more than sixty volumes."

They cannot yet publish their observations upon the present dynasty, which a second time expelled the native sovereigns, and established the dominion of the Manchow Tartars. A manuscript work called *Tong-hua-lô*, containing the reigns of the first three emperors, is written in the same style as the annals of the empire under the preceding dynasties; but not being committed to the press, on account of the risk in which it might involve those concerned, the copies are of course scarce and expensive. As a specimen of the style in which Chinese works sometimes notice foreign countries, the following passage from the above history may be adduced:—"European navigators calculate their distances by degrees,\* as the Chinese do

\* The divisions of the globe, according to our method, were taught the Chinese by the Jesuits and have been adopted by them.

by watches. The Europeans coming to China sail first eighty degrees in a southerly course, until they reach the Cape of Storms, and thence steer in a northerly direction, until they arrive at the limits of the province of Quang-tong. This is a voyage of six months or more, during which they see no land.

"There is also a mode of communicating from Europe with China by land, but as the kingdom of Russia intervenes, and is difficult of access, the route by sea is always preferred. Russia is about 12,000 *ly* distant from Peking. It is bounded on the other sides by Europe and Turkey. . . . The climate to the north is so very cold, that although it is understood that those parts were formerly inhabited, travellers meet with no traces of natives at present, and they are supposed to have perished. The woods are very extensive, and the snow lies many fathoms deep. They have old accounts of mountains of ice in the northern seas, some thousand cubits high, which, though they have been disbelieved, may perhaps be entitled to credit."\*

One of the most singular records of the Chinese, and a rare exception to the anti-social spirit generally prevailing in their foreign policy, is that account of the embassy from K'ang-hy (the second emperor of the reigning dynasty, and perhaps the most enlightened monarch that ever ruled the country) to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, then situated between the Caspian Sea and the borders of Russia Proper. The work has been translated by Sir George Staunton, and the best summary of it may be given in his own words:—"The ambassador commences his narrative with the relation of some particulars immediately concerning himself; he then gives at length the instructions he had received from his sovereign, and afterwards proceeds, in the form of a journal, to detail the observations that occurred upon his route, his intercourse and conversations with the several public au-

\* Staunton's *Miscellaneous Notices*, vol. i. p. 60.

thorities among the Russians and Tourgouths with whom he communicated, more especially with Prince Gagarin, the then governor-general of Siberia, and with Ayuke, the Tourgouth Khan, or sovereign; and he concludes with a recapitulation of the whole in the form of an official report to his sovereign of his proceedings.

“The mission, the particulars of which are thus recorded, was undoubtedly a singular and remarkable event in Chinese history. The appointment of a deputation, consisting of several official persons with a suitable train, to proceed upon a laborious and in some degree hazardous expedition to the distance of some thousand miles, and through the territories of a powerful neighbour, with whom they had had but little previous intercourse, and that not always of the most amicable nature, certainly seems to bespeak the existence of a spirit of enterprise, and more enlarged and enlightened views in the government of China at that period, than we should probably have looked for at any time in that of an Asiatic nation.

“But in whatever respect the policy which suggested the mission may be considered to have been unusual and out of ordinary course in China, the narrative at least is perfectly Chinese, both in its style and sentiments: the national spirit and character pervades it throughout, and will be obvious to every reader. It is possibly true that precisely such a mission would not have been sent under any other circumstances, or at any other period of the Chinese history; but there is nothing either in the conduct of the mission, or in the narrative of it, which any Chinese or Tartar officer of ordinary attainments at the present day might not equally have done or written; and the whole transaction seems to have obtained the unequivocal sanction and approbation of the government, the narrative having been published early in the next reign, under the emperor's special authority, and a copy of it deposited in the imperial library at Peking, as appears from its title being duly registered in the Chinese

printed and published catalogues of that collection.\*

"In addition to the circumstances which thus authenticate the work, and give it a certain degree of authority, as an exemplification of the maxims of Chinese policy, we have the advantage also of being able to put the author's fidelity to the test, by comparing his statements and notices on passing objects with those of Mr. Bell (of Antermony) in his account of a nearly contemporary expedition by a similar route; and it is certainly satisfactory to remark that there is a very general coincidence. . . . The descriptions of the scenery, inhabitants, and remarkable objects which were seen in the course of the route, it must be confessed, are very meagre and unsatisfactory; but they derive some incidental interest from the novelty of the quarter from whence they proceed; besides which, the form of narration which the writer has adopted has led him to describe the manners, customs, and notions of his own countrymen, as frequently as those of the people whom he visits,—a peculiarity which may, perhaps, add little to the value of his work to Chinese readers, but which cannot be unacceptable to us, to whom China is naturally an object of greater curiosity and interest than Tartary or Siberia."

Of the history of individuals, or *biography*, which the Chinese themselves call *Sing-heo*, "the study of names," they possess a great variety, and at the head of these, as the oldest in date and estimation, may be instanced the *Lun-yu*, or Discourses of Confucius, a work which, we have already observed, is in plan not unlike our own Boswell. There is a modern biographical work called *Sing-poo*, in no less than *one hundred and twenty* volumes, comprising the lives of eminent men and women, but withal a dull compilation,

\* The fact, that there is a printed and published catalogue of the Emperor of China's library, within the reach of any purchaser, is more than might have been expected.

and deficient in interest and animation. The art of printing has put the Chinese in possession of as voluminous and cheap a literature as any people in the world ; though the difference in the standards of intellect and taste renders much of this but little calculated to please European taste or satisfy European intellect. It is for this reason that very few Chinese works can bear to be translated in detail, and that the best way of making their general literature known is by short summaries or abstracts.

Whatever their ignorance may be of matters extraneous to their empire, the numerous and extensive *statistical* works which they possess, demonstrate that the Chinese have a very detailed and accurate knowledge of their own country. The principal of these, Ta-tsing Ye-tung-chy, "A complete Account of the Ta-tsing Empire," consists of two hundred and forty volumes, giving particulars of the population, the geography, revenues, magistracy, and other details of every province of China Proper, as well as an account of Chinese Tartary. Every province, too, has its own separate history in print, comprising particulars of its productions, manufactures, eminent persons, and every thing that can interest those connected with it ; so that the ignorance of the Chinese cannot be truly stated with reference to their own vast empire, exceeding as it does (with Tartary) all Europe in extent. Indeed the publicity unreservedly given to political and state matters of every description is a singular feature of their system. The Peking Gazette has very correctly been described as a state engine of no inconsiderable importance, exhibiting obvious proofs of an anxiety to influence and conciliate public opinion upon all public questions, in a manner which could not be predicated of a government theoretically despotic.

Some account of their great work on criminal law has already been given in the sixth chapter. The *civil code* of the present Tartar dynasty is called *Ta-tsing Hœvtien*, and consists of no less than two hun-

Reserving the lighter literature of China (its *belles lettres*), as poetry, drama, and romance, for a separate chapter, we may observe that specimens of more serious works have, in the course of rather more than a century, been but scantily presented, in various European translations, to the knowledge of the Western world. It was as early as 1711 that Père Noël's Latin version of the *four books*, with two other subordinate classics, was printed; at a long interval after that date appeared Gaubil's translation of the *Shoo-king*; and in 1785 was published Mailla's voluminous work, in fourteen quartos, entitled '*Histoire générale de la Chine*,' being a version of the native annals called *Tong-kien-kang-mo*. Fresh translations of several portions of the 'Four Books' have since been made; among the rest, Mencius, by M. Stanislas Julien; while a complete English version of the whole issued from the Anglo-Chinese press in 1828. A French translation of the ancient ritual and ceremonial code of China is said to be in preparation by M. Julien.

Of some of the missionary translations, especially those of our own country, it may be observed, that if there is much that is obscure or worthless in the original works, this has been rendered still worse by the wretched attempt to render word for word, thus exhibiting the whole in a jargon which has not inaptly been distinguished as "missionary English." This of course must be anything but a *faithful* picture of the originals, which, with all their defects in point of matter, are well known to be, in respect to manner and style, the models of the language in which they were composed. It is to this foolish and injudicious system of translation that we must attribute the following harsh judgment on that particular department of Chinese letters, which appeared some years ago in a critical work: "The specimens which have reached us through the medium of the missionaries are not the best adapted to convey information respecting the present state of the Chinese. Their labours are sufficiently voluminous, but their choice of subjects is not



always the most happy. We may find an apology for the Chinese in endeavouring to make sense of their ancient records ; but we cannot conceive what interest a few insulated Europeans can possibly take in toiling to unravel the inextricable confusion of their *king*, or canonical books." The fact is, that the confusion of the originals has occasionally, by means of uncouth translation, been made " confusion worse confounded."

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"THE Chinese stand eminently distinguished writer very correctly in the Quarterly Review of other Asiatic nations, by their early and extensive use of the art of *printing*—of print in that particular shape, the stereotype, well calculated, by multiplying the copies and the price, to promote the circulation of each of their literature. Hence they are, as is expected, a reading people; a certain quantity is universal among even the low, and, among the higher, it is superfluous. The great estimation in which letters are held under a system where learning forms the vestibule of the gate that conducts to fame, honour and employment. Amidst the vast mass of print which is the natural offspring of such a state we make no scruple to avow that the circle of *Belles Lettres*, comprised under the three Drama, Poetry, and Romances or Novels, possessed the highest place in our esteem. We must say that there appears no readier or more agreeable mode of becoming intimately acquainted with people from whom Europe can have so lit

ing to the East India Company, there are no less than two hundred volumes of plays, and a single work in forty volumes contains just one hundred theatrical pieces. The government of the country, though it does not (like that of imperial Rome) provide spectacles for the people at its own cost, gives sufficient countenance and encouragement to such amusements, by permitting them to be erected in every street by subscriptions among the inhabitants. On some particular days the mandarins themselves supply the funds. The principal public occasions of these performances are certain annual festivals of a *religious* nature, when temporary theatres, constructed with surprising facility of bamboos and mats, are erected in front of their temples, or in open spaces through their towns, the spectacle being continued for several days together. The players, in general, come literally under our legal definition of *vagabonds*, as they consist of strolling bands of ten or a dozen, whose merit and rank in their profession, and consequently their pay, differ widely according to circumstances. The best are those who come from Nanking, and who sometimes receive very considerable sums for performing at the entertainments given by rich persons to their friends.\*

To prove the rage of the Chinese for their theatrical exhibitions, we insert an account of the expenses annually incurred at Macao—which is partly a Portuguese town, and contains few rich Chinese—on account of play-acting.† In front of the large temple,

\* The female parts are never performed by women, but generally by boys. "No women ever appeared on the Greek and the Roman theatres; but the characters in the dramas of the latter, as (occasionally) in those of China, were sometimes played by eunuchs. The soft and delicate female characters of Shakspeare had not the advantage of being played by a female during his life; Mrs. Betterton, about 1660, being the first, or nearly the first female, who played Juliet and Ophelia."—*Brief View of the Chinese Drama*, p. 14.

† *Chinese Gleaner*, 1821, p. 60.

near the barrier-wall that confines the Portuguese, twenty-two plays are performed, the acting of which alone amounts, without including the expenses of erecting the theatre, to 2200 Spanish dollars. At the Chinese temple, near the entrance of the inner harbour, there are annual performances, for which 2000 dollars are paid; and various lesser exhibitions through the year make up the total expenditure under this head to upwards of 6000 dollars, or 1500*l.*, among a small population of mere shopkeepers and artisans. A circumstance, however, occurred at Macao in 1833, which must have impressed the Chinese with the notion that Europeans were fully as much devoted to such amusements as themselves. A party of Italian opera-singers from Naples, consisting of two women and five men, after having exercised their vocation with success in South America, proceeded on their way across the Pacific westward towards Calcutta, as to a likely and profitable field. Circumstances having occasioned their touching at Macao, they met there with inducements to remain some six months, until the season should admit of their prosecuting the voyage; and a temporary theatre having been contrived, they performed most of Rossini's operas with great success. The Chinese were surprised to find what, in the jargon of Canton, is called a *Sing-song*, erected by the foreigners on the shores of the celestial empire, and in that very shape, too, which most nearly resembles their own performances, a mixture of song and recitative. As the nearest way home from Calcutta, for these Italians, was by the Cape of Good Hope, they were a singular instance of the Opera performing a voyage round the world.

Before touching on the subject of their dramatic compositions, we will say a word regarding the mere scenic exhibitions of the Chinese, which may at any time be viewed by strangers who visit the country, and of which even persons ignorant of the language can form a sufficient judgment. "They have no scenical deception (observes the editor of the *Her* is

*Old Age*) to assist the story, as in the modern theatres of Europe; and the odd expedients to which they are sometimes driven by the want of scenery, are not many degrees above Nick Bottom's 'bush of thorns and a lantern, to disfigure or to present the person of Moonshine'—or the man 'with some plaster, or some loam, or some rough-cast about him, to signify Wall.' Thus, a general is ordered upon an expedition to a distant province; he brandishes a whip, or takes in his hand the reins of a bridle, and striding three or four times round the stage in the midst of a tremendous crash of gongs, drums, and trumpets, he stops short, and tells the audience where he has arrived. A tolerable judgment may be formed of what little assistance the imaginations of an *English* audience formerly derived from scenical deception, by the state of the drama and the stage as described by Sir Philip Sidney about the year 1583: "Now you shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by we have news of shipwreck in the same place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke; and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the meantime two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field?"

It is very true (as observed in the journal before quoted), that "the Chinese in their theatres leave more to the imagination than we do. They neither contrive that the action should all proceed on one spot, as in most specimens of the Greek tragedy, nor do they make use of shifting scenes. 'You can never bring in a wall,' says Snug the joiner,—so say the Chinese; and though their contrivances are not quite so outrageously absurd as those in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, they are scarcely more artificial." The truth, however, on this subject seems to be, that *though scenery and other adventitious aids of the*

kind no doubt tend to aid the illusion, they are by no means absolutely necessary to it; and in fact it is better to trust altogether to the imagination of the beholder than to fall into those palpable errors which even Dennis successfully ridiculed in Addison's *Cato*, resulting as they did from a rigid adherence to the unity of place. The best scenic preparation that ever was devised must still call largely on the imagination for assistance; and the whole philosophy of the subject is summed up in the words of the chorus to Shakspeare's 'Henry V.'

" But pardon, gentles all,  
The flat unraised spirit that hath dar'd  
On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth  
So great an object. Can this cock-pit hold  
The vasty field of France, or may we cram  
Within this wooden O, the very casques  
That did affright the air at Agincourt?  
O pardon, since a crooked figure may  
Attest in little space a million;  
And let us, cyphers to this great accompt,  
On your imaginary forces work :—  
Suppose within the girdle of these walls  
Are now confin'd two mighty monarchies,  
Whose high upreared and abutting fronts  
The perilous narrow ocean parts asunder;  
Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts,  
Into a thousand parts divide one man,  
And make imaginary puissance ;" &c.

It is very possible that the delicate taste of the Greeks, alive to this difficulty, chose rather to evade than encounter it, by that rule which confined the number of interlocutors, at one time on the stage, to three persons. But then mark the consequence; half the events of the drama must be *told* to the audience, and in lieu of the stirring and active scenes which keep attention alive, and prevent the performances from flagging, we have those interminably long stories, which may be beautiful taken by themselves, and constitute a fine dramatic poem for the closet.

but are quite unsuited to the stage. In one of the plays of Æschylus, the 'Seven before Thebes,' there is a spy, or messenger, who comes in and describes in a speech, of we forget how many pages, the details of the whole siege, with the arms and accoutrements of the besiegers!

The costume, at least, of the Chinese stage is sufficiently appropriate to the characters represented, and on most occasions extremely splendid. Their gay silks and embroidery are lavished on the dresses of the actors, and as most of the serious plays are historical, and for obvious reasons do not touch on events that have occurred since the Tartar conquest, the costumes represent the ancient dress of China, which in the case of females is nearly the same now as ever; but, as regards men, very different. The splendour of their theatrical wardrobe was remarked by Ysbrandt Ides, the Russian ambassador, as long ago as 1692: "First entered a very beautiful lady, magnificently dressed in cloth of gold, adorned with jewels, and a crown on her head, singing her speech with a charming voice and agreeable motion of the body, playing with her hands, in one of which she held a fan. The prologue thus performed, the play followed, the story of which turned upon a Chinese emperor, long since dead, who had behaved himself well towards his country, and in honour of whose memory the play was written. Sometimes he appeared in royal robes, with a flat ivory sceptre in his hand, and sometimes his officers showed themselves with ensigns, arms, and drums," &c.

As the Chinese make no regular distinction between tragedy and comedy in their stage pieces, the claims of these to either title must be determined by the subject and the dialogue. The line is in general pretty strongly marked: in the former, by the historical or mythological character of the personages, the grandeur and gravity of the subject, the tragical drift of the play, and the strict award of what is called poetical justice; in the latter, by the more ordinary or domea-

tie grade of the *dramatis personæ*, the display of ludicrous characters and incidents, and the interweaving of jests into the dialogue. Some of their stage plays are no doubt of a vulgar and indecent description, but these in general constitute the amusement of a particular class of society, and are generally adapted to the taste of those who call for them at private entertainments, as already noticed. A list of plays which the company of actors is prepared to represent is handed to the principal guest, who makes his selection in the way most likely to be agreeable to the audience.

The early travellers, as Bell and others, who have given an account of the impressions which they received from the Chinese theatrical performances, are unable to judge of little more than the mere spectacle before them, and, being ignorant of the language, could give no account of the merits of the dramatic dialogue. The first specimen of a play was translated into French by the Jesuit Prémare, who although actually resident at Peking, and a most accomplished Chinese scholar (as appears from his *Notitia Lingue Sinicæ*), did not give more than the prose parts, leaving out the lyrical portions, or those which are connected with music, because, as he observes, "they are full of allusions to things unfamiliar to us, and figurative speech very difficult for us to observe." Voltaire made Prémare's translation of the *Orphan of China* the groundwork of one of his best tragedies, *L'Orphelin de la Chine*: it is founded on an event which occurred about a hundred years before the birth of Confucius. A military leader having usurped the lands of a house of Chaou, is determined on exterminating the whole race. A faithful dependant of the family saves the life of the orphan, and male heir, by concealing him and passing off his own child in his place. The orphan is brought up in ignorance of his real condition, until he reaches man's estate, when the truth is subject being revealed to him by his tutor and friend, he revenges the fate of his family on the usurper.



recovers his rights. In this plot, Dr. Hurd red a near resemblance in many points to that of *Electra* of Sophocles, where the young Orestes is d by his *pædagogus*, or tutor, until he is old gh to enact summary justice on the murderers of ther Agamemnon.

would be easy to point out a number of instances ich the management of the Chinese plays as- utes them very remarkably to that of the Greek a ; and they may both be considered as *originals*, the theatres of most other nations are copies. first person who enters generally introduces him- o the audience exactly in the same way, and i briefly the opening circumstances of the action. ese prologues (observes Schlegel) make the be- ngs of Euripides' plays very monotonous. It has y awkward look for a person to come forward ay, 'I am so and so, this and that have been done, what comes next is thus and thus.'" He com- it to the labels proceeding from the mouths of gures in old paintings ; and there certainly ap- the less need for so inartificial a proceeding on reek stage, inasmuch as the business of the pro- , or introduction, might have been transferred to horus. The occasional, though not very frequent rageous, violation of the *unities* in the Chinese a may easily be matched in most other languages, xamples of the same occur even in some of the -three Greek tragedies that remain to us ; for nity of *action* is not observed in the *Hercules* is of Euripides ; nor that of *time* in the *Agamem-* of Æschylus, the *Trachynians* of Sophocles, and ppliants of Euripides ; nor that of *place* in the enides of Æschylus. The unimportance, how- of a rigid attention to these famous unities has since been determined, and it is admitted that Aristotle, to whom they have all been attributed, ions only that of action at any length, merely at that of time, and of place says nothing what-

Prémare's specimen of the Chinese stage was followed, at the distance of about a century, by the author's translation of the 'Heir in Old Age,' which is in fact a comedy from the same collection (the hundred plays of Yuen) that had afforded the former sample. In this the translator supplied, for the first time, the lyrical or operatic portions which are sung to music, as well as the prose dialogue, having endeavoured, as he observes in the introduction, "to render *both* into English in such a manner as would best convey the spirit of the original, without departing far from its literal meaning." This was the most likely to be efficiently performed, as he was then resident in the country, and could avail himself of native references. The 'Heir in Old Age' serves to illustrate some very important points connected with Chinese character and customs. It shows the consequences which they attach to the due performance of the oblations at the tombs of departed ancestors, as well as to the leaving male representatives who may continue them; and at the same time describes the ceremony at the tombs very exactly in detail. The play serves moreover, to display the true relation of the handmaid to the legitimate wife, and proves a point at which we have before had occasion to insist, that the former is merely a domestic slave, and that both herself and offspring belong to the *wife*, properly so called, of which a man can legally have only one.\*

\* In the Penal Code there are some express safeguards for the rights of a wife, and it is provided that any man degrading his legal wife to the situation of a handmaid shall be punished with one hundred blows; and that he who during the life of his legitimate spouse treats any handmaid on an equality with her, shall receive ninety blows, and both parties be restored to their proper stations. It is added, "He who, having a wife marries another wife, shall be punished with ninety blows, and the second marriage shall be void." The notes on this law observe that "a wife is one whose person is equal in rank to that of her husband; a handmaid, one who is merely admitted to his presence."

To give a brief abstract of this play from the introductory memoir—the *dramatis personæ* are made up entirely of the members of a family in the middle class of life, consisting of a rich old man, his wife, a handmaid, his nephew, his son-in-law, and his daughter. The old man, having no son to console him in his age, and to perform the obsequies at his tomb, had, like the Jewish patriarch, taken a handmaid, whose pregnancy is announced at the opening of the play, in which the old man commences with saying, "I am a man of Tung-ping-foo," &c. In order to obtain from heaven a son, instead of a daughter, he makes a sacrifice of sundry debts due to him, by burning the bonds, and this propitiatory holocaust serves at the same time to quiet some scruples of conscience as to the mode in which part of his money had been acquired. He then delivers over his affairs to his wife and his married daughter, dismissing his nephew (a deceased brother's son), with a hundred pieces of silver, to seek his fortune, as he had been subjected at home to the persecution of the wife. This done, the old man sets out for his estate in the country, recommending the mother of his expected son to the humane treatment of the family, and with the hope of receiving from them speedy congratulations on the birth of a son.

The son-in-law now betrays to the daughter his disappointment at the expected birth, since, if it prove a girl, they shall lose half the family property, and, if a son, the whole. His wife quiets him by a hint how easily the handmaid may be got rid of, and the old man persuaded that she had suddenly disappeared; and shortly afterwards both the son-in-law and the audience are left to infer that she had actually contrived to make away with her. In the mean time the old man waits the result in great anxiety; his family appear in succession to console him for the loss of his hopes. In the bitterness of his disappointment he bursts into tears, and expresses his suspicions of foul play. He then attributes his misfortunes to his former

thirst for gain, resolves to fast for seven days, and to bestow alms publicly at a neighbouring temple, in the hope that the objects of his charity may treat him as a father. Among the beggars at the temple, his nephew appears in the most hopeless state of poverty, being reduced to take up his lodging under the furnace of a pottery; he is insulted by the son-in-law, and reproached by the old man; but his uncle, moved with compassion, contrives to give him a little money, and earnestly advises him to be punctual in visiting the tombs of his family at the approaching spring, assuring him that a due attention to those sacred rites must ultimately lead to prosperity. It is on the importance attached to the sepulchral ceremonies that the whole drama is made to turn.

The nephew accordingly appears at the tombs, performs the oblations as well as his poverty will admit, and invokes the shades of his ancestors to grant him their protection. He no sooner departs than the old uncle appears with his wife, expressing their indignation that their own daughter and son-in-law had neglected to come with the customary offerings. They observe from the appearances at the sepulchre that their nephew must have been there. The scene at the tombs, and the reflections of the old man thereon, have considerable interest; he reasons with his wife, and convinces her that the nephew is nearer in blood and more worthy than the son-in-law; she relents, and expresses a wish to make him reparation: he appears—a reconciliation takes place—and he is received back into the family. The son-in-law and daughter now enter with a great bustle, and a procession, to perform the ceremonies, but are received with bitter reproaches for their tardy piety and ingratitude, and forbidden to enter the doors again.

On the old man's birth-day, however, they desire permission to pay their respects, when, to the boundless surprise and joy of the father, his daughter presents him with the long-lost handmaid and child, both of whom, it appears, had been secreted by the

daughter unknown to her jealous husband, who supposed they were otherwise disposed of. The daughter is taken back, and the old man divides his money in three equal shares, between her, his nephew, and his newly-found son; the play concluding with expressions of joy and gratitude that the venerable hero of the piece had obtained "an heir in his old age." Such is the brief outline of the story, which arises entirely out of the misery resulting from the want of a male heir to perform the oblations at the tombs. The events follow each other in so natural and uninterrupted a manner, that the time employed in the course of the piece, which is three years, would not be perceived but for the age of the child brought forward in the concluding act. The play, including the proëm, or introductory portion, consists in reality of just *five* acts, and this peculiar division is common to the *hundred plays*, from which this and the other translated specimens have been taken.

These separate portions of the play, however, are not so distinctly marked on the Chinese stage as on ours, there being little need of preparation or change of scene, and the division seems to exist rather in the book than in the representation. The first or introductory portion is called the "opening," and the remaining four are styled "breaks." All the directions to the actors are printed as in our stage-books. "Ascend" and "descend" are used for *enter* and *exit*, and to speak *aside* is expressed by a term which means to "say at the back" of any person. Thus in one of the Hundred Plays, an intriguing lover, who meets his mistress by appointment, exclaims on seeing her, as any other Lothario might do, "(*aside*) She has changed her habit of yesterday, and truly looks like a divinity." In the Chinese play-books certain invariable words or names are adopted to mark the particular relations of the different *dramatis personæ*, as the first and secondary male and female characters (the *prima donna*, &c.), and these are used in every play indiscriminately, whether its complexion be tragic or

comic. The musical portions, in accordance with the Chinese theory of poetry, express the most passionate parts, and therefore belong only to the principal characters. In this respect there is no resemblance to the Greek theatre, where the *chorus*, as a distinct body, sang together, or in responsive parts called strophe and antistrophe; while certain spoken portions were delivered by their Coryphæus, or leader, who therefore speaks in the singular number.

In another specimen of the Chinese theatre, which is of a tragic cast, and turns on the misfortunes of one of the native emperors against the Mongol Tartars, the translator has followed the example of Prémare, and having before (for the first time) given a drama in its whole details, including the lyrical portions, confined himself on this occasion chiefly to the spoken dialogue and the principal course of the action. Love and war constitute the whole subject of the piece, of which the moral is to expose the evil consequences of luxury, effeminacy, and supineness in the sovereign. The story is taken from that portion of the Chinese annals previous to the first conquest by the Mongols, when the declining strength of the government emboldened the Tartars in their aggressions, and gave rise to the system of propitiating those barbarians by tribute, and by alliances with the daughters of China. The play opens with the entrance of the Tartar Khan, who thus *προλογίζει* :—

“We have moved to the south, and approached the border, claiming an alliance with the imperial race. I yesterday despatched an envoy with tributary presents to demand a princess in marriage, but know not if the emperor will ratify the engagement with the customary oaths. The fineness of the season has drawn away our chiefs on a hunting excursion amidst the sandy steppes. May they meet with success!—for we Tartars have no fields; our bows and arrows are our sole dependence.”

[*Exit.*]

Then appears the emperor's chief minister and favourite, who in a soliloquy makes known the cir-

sung, until he is at length pacified by the death of the traitor.

Another specimen from the Hundred Plays has been translated in France by M. Stanislas Julien, professor of Chinese at Paris. As in the previous instance of the 'Heir in Old Age,' he has given a version of the whole drama, including both the prose and the lyrical parts, and promises some further samples of the same kind. The name of the piece which he has rendered into French is *Le Cercle de Craie*, "the chalk ring or circle," founded on the principal incident in the piece, which is in fact so like the *Judgment of Solomon*, that it might lead one to believe the Chinese play had been borrowed from some obscure tradition or report of it. Two women claim to be the mothers of the same child before a judge, who, in order to get at the truth, orders a chalk ring to be drawn on the floor of the court, and the contested child placed in the middle of it. He then declares that the child shall belong to whichever of the women may succeed against the other in pulling it out of the circle. The feigned mother, having no compunction for the infant, gets the better of the real one, who from her maternal tenderness for the child is afraid of exerting her whole strength; and the sagacious judge, "a second Daniel come to judgment," gives the cause in favour of the right claimant. With this last specimen we conclude our sketch of the Chinese theatre.

A very full and detailed notice of Chinese poetry has been printed in the *Royal Asiatic Transactions*,\* with numerous examples, but we have not room in this place for more than an abstract of the subject. Some account of their earliest poetry has been already given in the thirteenth chapter, where the 'Book of Songs' was mentioned with the other ancient classics. In later times the structure of their verse has undergone considerable improvements, and there have been particular periods or eras of their his-

\* Vol. ii. p. 393, 4to.

tory when the art of poetry has been especially cultivated. They compare its progress, themselves, to the growth of a tree—"The ancient 'Book of Odes' may be likened to the roots; when *Soolo* flourished, the buds appeared; in the time of *Kien-gân* there was abundance of foliage; but during the *T'ang* dynasty many reposed under the shade of the tree, and it yielded rich supplies of flowers and fruit." This Augustan age of Chinese poetry was in the eighth century of our era, or about 1100 years ago, when the whole of Europe was involved in barbarism and ignorance.

It has generally been supposed that the Chinese words are entirely monosyllabic (though this is not always strictly the case), and hence it might be imagined that their versification could not be susceptible of much melody. This, however, would not necessarily follow, for Pope himself, one of the smoothest of our versifiers, has whole couplets consisting of mere monosyllables; for instance—

" Ah, if she lend not arms as well as rules,  
What can she more than tell us we are fools?"

The truth, however, is, that the Chinese abounds with diphthongal as well as dissyllabic sounds, which contribute, when blended with others that are strictly monosyllabic, to give to its verse a certain share of varied euphony. In addition to this, it derives cadence and modulation from the use of certain tones or accents, which appear originally to have owed their existence rather to the necessity of perspicuity in speech than of melody in verse. Another source of harmony is the use of what may strictly be called *poetic numbers*. Every word of Chinese poetry corresponds to a metrical foot in other languages. The shortest consists sometimes of as few as *three*, repeated as a kind of chorus in songs; and this measure occasionally serves as a species of chiming verse for the inculcation of moral maxims. With the same view to assisting the memory, it has been adopted in



the composition of the *San-tse king*, 'Trimetrical Classic,' a work which conveys to Chinese youth the rudiments of general knowledge.

The line of four words constitutes the chief part of the 'Book of Odes' before mentioned. There, however, the measure of some pieces is altogether irregular, varying from three to seven or eight words in a line. Poetry in most countries begins with being the vehicle of religion and morality, and the first record of historical facts. Venerated at first as the language of wisdom or inspiration, it is at length cultivated as a pleasurable art, and never fails to improve in harmony, however it may degenerate in other points, with the progress of time. For the same reason that Pope is more harmonious than Chaucer or Donne, Boileau or Racine than Ronsard, Virgil or Tibullus than old Ennius, so the poetry of China, from the eighth century down to the present time, is in point of mere versification a great improvement on the 'Book of Odes.' The improved system of versification consists in lines of five words, as well as in the longer measure of seven; but for examples of all these, the reader must be referred to the treatise on Chinese poetry.\*

Besides a regular cæsural pause in a particular part of each verse (which we cannot dilate upon here), they have, in common with most other people, the use of *rhymes*, of which it may be principally observed that they occur at the termination of every second verse. The length of the stanza is determined by the recurrence of the same rhyme, and in a poem of any continuity it is generally of four lines only, that is, a quatrain, whose second and fourth lines rhyme together; but occasionally eight or more verses will have the same ending. In our own Spenserian stanza the same rhyme occurs four times in the course of nine lines. The Chinese, however, do not seem to possess a very nice ear for the perception of true rhymes; and

\* *Royal Asiatic Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 393.

this inaccuracy may partly arise from their not having such precise symbols or marks of sound as our alphabetic letters.

The next feature in the construction of Chinese verse (observes the treatise already referred to) presents a striking coincidence with what has been remarked of the poetry of another Asiatic nation. In the preliminary dissertation on Hebrew poetry, prefixed to his translation of Isaiah, Bishop Lowth has treated at some length of a peculiar property which he calls *parallelism*, consisting of the correspondence of one verse with another, either in equivalency or opposition of sense, or in the form of grammatical construction. The learned prelate adduces examples of these different sorts of parallelism from the Psalms; as, for instance—

“The memory of the just is a blessing :  
But the name of the wicked shall rot”—  
“Dart forth thy lightnings and scatter them :  
Shoot out thine arrows and consume them.”

There are perpetual examples in the Chinese, answering to the above description of the Hebrew; and the peculiar structure of that language generally renders the parallelism much more exact, and therefore much more striking, as it is usually word for word, the one written opposite to the other. The following is a translation of such parallelisms, taken from the ‘Heir in Old Age,’ but it can of course but imperfectly represent the original:—

“Supinely gazing, now I vent my sighs,  
Now, bending down, in tears my sorrow flows  
The wealthy alien claims connubial ties—  
The needy kinsman no relation knows.”

To proceed from the structure of Chinese verse to the character of their poetry—this seems to consist principally of odes and songs, of moral and didactic and of sentimental and descriptive pieces; which different kinds, however, are so blended together, and run so much into one another, that it would not al-

be easy to separate them. One of the most antiques in the 'Book of Odes,' the date of which perhaps reach to *three thousand years*, has reference to the pain felt by the poet at the unworthy act of some ungrateful friend. The allusions to form, &c. are, of course, figurative; and the relation of this antique specimen may serve to show similarity that pervades the tone of human sentiment in the most distant ages and countries:—

"Now scarce is heard the zephyr's sigh  
To breathe along the narrow vale;  
Now sudden bursts the storm on high,  
In mingled rush of rain and hail :  
—While adverse fortune louring frown'd,  
Than ours no tie could closer be;  
But, lo! when ease and joy were found,  
Spurn'd was I, ingrate—spurn'd by thee!"

Now scarce is felt the fanning air  
Along the valley's sloping side;  
Now winds arise, and lightnings glare,  
Pours the fell storm its dreadful tide!  
—While fears and troubles closely prest,  
By thee my love was gladly sought;  
But once again with quiet blest,  
Thou view'st me as a thing of nought!

The faithless calm shall shift again,  
Another gale the bleak hill rend,  
And every blade shall wither then,  
And every tree before it bend :  
—Then shalt thou wail thy lonesome lot,  
Then vainly seek the injur'd man  
Whose virtues thou hadst all forgot,  
And only learn'd his faults to scan."

The style of descriptive poetry among the Chinese perhaps be best shown by the way in which they describe *ourselves*, for which purpose are selected the ring stanzas from a poem on London, written as long ago as 1813, by a person better instructed than the generality of his countrymen who quit the celestial empire to travel abroad. This singular produce

tion has already excited some notice, and been quoted in several publications from the treatise in the Royal Asiatic Transactions, where it was printed with the original text, and where the translator observed that the poem, being a simple description, contains few flights of fancy. As it would, therefore, have been a hopeless attempt, however well they may sound in Chinese, to give dignity in verse to matters so perfectly domestic and familiar to ourselves, it was judged best to afford a literal prose translation, but with all the extravagancies and hyperboles of the original.

## I.

Afar in the ocean, towards the extremities of the north-west,  
There is a nation, or country, called England :  
The clime is frigid, and you are compelled to approach the fire ;  
The houses are so lofty that you may pluck the stars.  
The pious inhabitants respect the ceremonies of worship,  
And the virtuous among them ever read the sacred books.  
They bear a peculiar enmity towards the French nation,  
The weapons of war\* rest not for a moment (between them).

## II.

Their fertile hills, adorned with the richest luxuriance,  
Resemble, in the outline of their summits, the arched eye-  
brows (of a fair woman) :  
The inhabitants are inspired with a respect for the female sex,  
Who in this land correspond with the perfect features of  
nature ;  
Their young maidens have cheeks resembling red blossoms,  
And the complexion of their beauties is like the white gem :  
Of old has connubial affection been highly esteemed among  
them,  
Husband and wife delighting in mutual harmony.— . . .

## V.

The two banks of the river lie to the north and south :  
Three bridges† interrupt the stream, and form a communica-  
tion ;

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\* Written in 1813.

† Old London, Blackfriars, and Westminster bridges were  
then the only three in existence.

Vessels of every kind pass between the arches,  
 While men and horses pace among the clouds (fogs?):  
 A thousand masses of stone rise one above the other,  
 And the river flows through nine channels:  
 The bridge of Loyang, which outtops all in our empire,  
 Is in shape and size somewhat like these—— . . .

## VII.

The towering edifices rise story above story,  
 In all the stateliness of splendid mansions:  
 Railings of iron thickly stud the sides of every entrance,  
 And streams from the river circulate through the walls.  
 The sides of each apartment are variegated with devices;  
 Through the windows of glass appear the scarlet hangings:  
 And in the street itself is presented a beautiful scene;  
 The congregated buildings have all the aspect of a picture . . .

## IX.

The spacious streets are exceedingly smooth and level,  
 Each being crossed by others at intervals:  
 On either side perambulate men and women,  
 In the centre career along the carriages and horses:  
 The mingled sound of voices is heard in the shops at evening;  
 During winter the heaped-up snows adhere to the pathway:  
 Lamps are displayed at night along the street sides,  
 Whose radiance twinkles like the stars of the sky.—&c.

It remains to take some notice of the Chinese works of fiction, in the shape of moral tales, novels, and romances, which, by the aid of the art of printing, so early invented, have become altogether innumerable. Among them, however, some have of course grown more famous and popular than others, and a very few are ranked under the title of *Tsao-tsze*, or "works of genius." Under the existing system of exclusion from the interior of the country, to which all Europeans are subject, they are perhaps the best sources to which we can address ourselves, in order to obtain a knowledge of the every-day habits of the people. As the writers address themselves solely to their own countrymen, they need not be suspected of the spirit of *misrepresentation*, prejudice, and exaggeration.

with which the Chinese are known to speak of themselves to strangers. An odd instance of this kind once occurred at Canton. A native being told that the King of England was accustomed, on particular occasions, to be drawn in a carriage with *eight* horses, answered with the utmost readiness, "China Emperor *twenty-four*!"

Many of the Chinese novels and romances which were written in the fifteenth century of our era, and some much earlier than that date, would contrast very advantageously, either as literary compositions or as pictures of society, with their contemporaries of Europe. The Chinese at that period were long past the stage of civilization which gives birth only to apologues or extravagant fictions, and could rely on representations of actual life, and of the complicated situations into which men are thrown by the contests of interest and of passion in an artificial state of things. Their novels and romances paint Chinese society as it really exists, and if they are on this account less amusing for children, they may be more interesting to such grown persons as have the curiosity to contemplate a state of civilization which has grown up of itself, and owes none of its features to an intercourse with Europe, or with the rest of the world.

Under the existing circumstances (we repeat) of our exclusion from the interior of the country, these works have a peculiar value, as they supply the information regarding manners, customs, and sentiment, which might otherwise be obtained from the observation of travellers, but can at present be gained only from books. Late changes in the trade have excited the jealousy and raised the vigilance of the government to a degree which may render the access to *any* spot, except Canton, more difficult than ever; and the barrier seems to be one which nothing but a change in the present Tartar dynasty, or a successful appeal to arms, can remove.\* Under these circum-

\* This was written in 1835.

stances, we must acquire our knowledge of the country from native works: and the minuteness which characterizes their pictures of social life is particularly calculated to make us familiar with its most intimate recesses. M. Rémusat observes of them, "C'est dans la peinture des détails qu'excellent les romanciers Chinois, et c'est encore en cela qu'on peut les rapprocher de Richardson, de Fielding, ou tout au moins du Docteur Smollet, et de Mademoiselle Burney. C'est par là que les uns et les autres sont intéressants, vrais, habiles à faire ressortir les traits des passions, à dessiner les caractères, à produire un haut degré d'illusion. Leurs personnages ont, comme on dirait à présent, toute la réalité possible. On a véritablement fait connaissance avec eux quand on les a vu agir ou entendu parler, quand on les a suivis dans les particularités minutieuses de leur conversation."\*

The 'Fortunate Union' may be considered as a favourable specimen of these native pictures of life and manners. To quote the preface, "The interest and bustle of the scene, the spirit of the dialogue, the strong delineation and strict keeping of all the characters, joined to the generally excellent moral that is conveyed throughout, may serve to impress us with no unfavourable sentiments in regard to Chinese taste. The story commences with an act of generous devotion on the part of the hero, and the gratitude of the person whom he obliges becomes the ultimate occasion of his own triumph over the combinations of his enemies. The profligate, the malicious, and the base, when they have exhausted all the resources of ingenuity, meet with their just reward; while rectitude, prudence, and courage carry their possessors not only unharmed but glorious through every trial.

"In the hero and heroine are accurately described the principles of the Confucian sect of philosophy, a sect which, in its professed admiration of virtue, and in its high tone of self-sufficiency and pride, assim-

\* Preface to *Les Deux Cousines*.

lates somewhat to the ancient Stoics. As we often find in our own favourite fictions, a number of the names have a reference to the characters of those who bear them. Thus the hero is named from *iron* (quasi Ironside); the heroine is *ping-sin*, icy-hearted—a term, however, which in her country means chaste, and not what we should call cold-hearted. There are many remarkable points of resemblance between the ‘Fortunate Union’ and our own novels and romances at the present day. Every chapter is headed by a few verses bearing some relation to its contents, and appropriate lines are occasionally introduced as embellishments to the story. Except in some highly sustained dialogues, the prose parts convey the tone of ordinary conversation or narrative.”

As the above work is rather celebrated among the Chinese themselves, and may serve as a sample of the particular department of literature to which it belongs, such readers as have not seen the English translation may like to be furnished with an outline, as it has been already epitomized in a popular periodical.\* The hero of the ‘Fortunate Union’ is a young student named Teih-chungyu, whose family residence is at one of the chief cities of the province in which Peking is situated, but about two hundred and fifty miles from the capital. He is beautiful in person, but with a disposition naturally harsh and inflexible, and an irritable temper, which is however set off by some generous qualities, and a ready desire to succour persons in distress. His father belongs to that privileged class of *Censors* by which the constitution of the Chinese government is so singularly distinguished, and he is marked by the boldness and uprightness of his advice to his sovereign. The son, on account of his hasty temper, is not taken to his father’s official residence at Peking, but left at the family house in the province. At sixteen his parents had thought of choosing him a wife, but this was postponed at his own desire, and he

\* *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxviii. p. 545.



continues his studies in solitude until the age of twenty, when, as he is one day reading at home, he comes upon the history of a minister famed in Chinese annals, who fell a victim to the honesty with which he reproved his sovereign.

Reflecting on this incident, it occurs to him that similar fidelity might expose his father to a similar fate; his anxiety leads him to determine on proceeding to Peking. On his way thither, he puts up for the night at a village, where he hears the story of a young student who, through the violence of a powerful noble, had lost the bride to whom he had been contracted in marriage. His enemy had seized the unfortunate lady, and shut her up in a retired palace, conferred on him by the emperor for very different purposes. Falling in, soon after, with the student himself, the youth inquires the particulars of his case, and promises to have his memorial presented to the emperor. On reaching Peking, our hero found his apprehensions realized regarding his father, who had given umbrage to the emperor, and been thrown into prison, for the zeal with which he exerted himself in this very case of the young student. The matter had been referred to the criminal board; but the guilty noble contrived, by his wealth and influence, to remove every species of evidence: and then persuading the emperor that the Censor had been deceiving him, he procured the degradation and imprisonment of the latter.

The hero proceeds at once to his father's place of confinement, and surprises him by producing the young student's memorial, which of itself is sufficient to exculpate the Censor. They send a joint representation to the emperor, praying for a secret warrant to apprehend all the parties concerned. This is obtained, and the youth, taking a brazen mace in his hand, sallies forth quietly, and contrives to make his way into the secluded palace of the guilty noble. He there finds all the objects of his search; the ravisher, *who at first makes a bold resistance, is roughly*

handled, and the lady set at liberty. The Censor is restored to his former rank and dignities, and even promoted by the emperor, who punishes the convicted noble, and highly lauds the courage and zeal of the youth by whom this had all been brought about. The fame of Teihchungyu exposes him to so much notice at Peking, that his father, dreading the effects of flattery and envy, advises his leaving the capital, and proceeding on a "tour of instruction," which in China often forms a part of education, but is of course confined to the limits of their own vast empire.

In a district of the adjoining province of Shantung is the family residence of a member of the military tribunal at Peking, who has no son, but a daughter named Shueypingsin, of exquisite beauty, with mental endowments equal to her personal charms. To her, his wife being dead, is intrusted the charge of his household and estate, while compelled by his office to reside at the capital. A worthless brother of this mandarin, named Shueyun, who has three sons and an ugly daughter, casts a longing eye on his large estate; the management of which, in default of male heirs to his brother, would come to himself on the marriage of Shueypingsin, his niece. His great object, therefore, is to bring this about, and (encouraged by the banishment of his brother, for some official error, into Tartary) he colleagues with a young profligate of rank, but of notorious bad character, who is determined to obtain the reluctant young lady in marriage, having seen her by stealth with the connivance of the uncle. She pretends to comply; but, by a series of dexterous contrivances, in which she avails herself of the various forms and preliminaries of Chinese courtship, causes her designing but stupid uncle to impose upon the young rake his *own* ugly daughter. The rage of the disappointed suitor is great on detecting this trick, when it seems too late to be remedied; but the uncle, with characteristic baseness, suggests a scheme to pacify him, whereby the lonely and defenceless Shueypingsin may be still entrapped

into the possession of her lover, claimed as his wife, and the real wife, his own daughter, reduced to the condition of a handmaid! This scheme is so plausibly contrived, that the young lady narrowly escapes "falling into the dragon's jaws." The interest is here highly dramatic; the good sense and presence of mind of the heroine coming to her aid in the very crisis of her fate. The failure of their plot fills the uncle and suitor with rage and shame, but all hands are compelled to admire the ingenuity and understanding of Shueypingsin.

Another scheme is then devised by the indefatigable and abandoned suitor, to seize the heroine by force while returning from a filial visit to her mother's tomb, where she proceeds, according to custom, to perform the rites at the autumnal season. The young lady's suspicions are excited in time; she says nothing, but, changing her dress, steps into the chair of a female attendant, having before secretly placed a bundle of stones in her own sedan, and shut it up. This is waylaid on the return, and forcibly carried off by the lover and his attendants; while Shueypingsin proceeds quietly and safely towards her home. The empty chair is opened amidst shouts of laughter from the neighbours and acquaintance of the libertine, who have thus been assembled only to witness his disgrace and disappointment. They counsel him to give up the pursuit of a person whose actions seem to prove that she is something more than human; but his rage and ardour are only inflamed by these unexpected crosses; and he at length falls upon a third scheme.

He had resolved to seize her by force, but as she now kept her doors barred against strangers, fraud was necessary to obtain admission. A forged document is accordingly produced at her gate, purporting to be an account of her father's recall from exile. This gains entrance for the partisans and domestics of her abandoned admirer, by a numerous party of whom she is instantly surrounded. She de

which she first despatches to Peking by a private emissary, and then appeals publicly to the commissioner, on whose refusal to aid her, she exhibits the memorial which she had already sent up against him, and fills him with consternation. On his countermanding the nuptials, she is induced to send off a despatch for the recall of her messenger. Teihchungyu now learns what is going on during his absence, and, with the view of protecting his mistress, hurries off to Shantung province, which he reaches in a few days. On his first arrival he is seen by the profligate uncle, who soon makes his friend the suitor acquainted with the event. They try to entrap him, by sending a cunning boy with a pretended message from Shueyping-sin, appointing an assignation at the back gate of her house. The inconsistency of this message with the lady's character opens his eyes to the fraud, and, seizing the boy, he forces him by threats to confess it is a trick of his enemies.

The next step is to devise another plot against our hero, whose abandoned rival calls at his lodgings, and, on being denied, leaves a ceremonial ticket. This compels Teihchungyu to return the call, for which his enemy is prepared with an entertainment, to which the youth is, much against his will, detained. It is concerted that a number of rakish fellows should join the party one by one, and get up a quarrel, in which, with their assistance, the host may revenge himself by maltreating Teihchungyu. His coolness, courage, and strength, however, avail him as usual, and when a fray becomes inevitable, he completely discomfits the drunken party, and leaves them vowing loud vengeance. The description of this Chinese entertainment, and of the growing row, is highly characteristic, and proves that the most ceremonious of people can sometimes be the most unceremonious. The defeated party lodge a false charge against the hero, but the result redounds to their entire shame and disgrace.

Circumstances subsequently enable Teihchungyu to be of essential service to the exiled father of the

heroine, and to procure at length his recall from banishment, and reinstatement in his former honours. The families of the youth and maiden being thus drawn together, a proposed alliance is the natural consequence. The ultra refinement, however, of the Confucian school imposes scruples on the parties, lest such a consummation should lead the world to misconstrue the disinterested nature of their former intercourse. These scruples being overcome, fresh plots are laid by their enemies to oppose their union ; and as the affair, from the rank of the parties, at length comes before the emperor in person, an investigation is set on foot, which exposes the wickedness of the other faction, and leads to the marriage being sanctioned with high encomiums from the "Son of Heaven" himself. All parties are punished or rewarded according to their deserts, and thus the 'Fortunate Union' is concluded. The interest of the story is sustained throughout, by the Chinese author, with more skill and effect than in most native productions ; and as a genuine picture of manners it is among the best suited to the use of those who desire, according to the expression of a French writer, "*connaître les Chinois par les Chinois eux-mêmes.*"

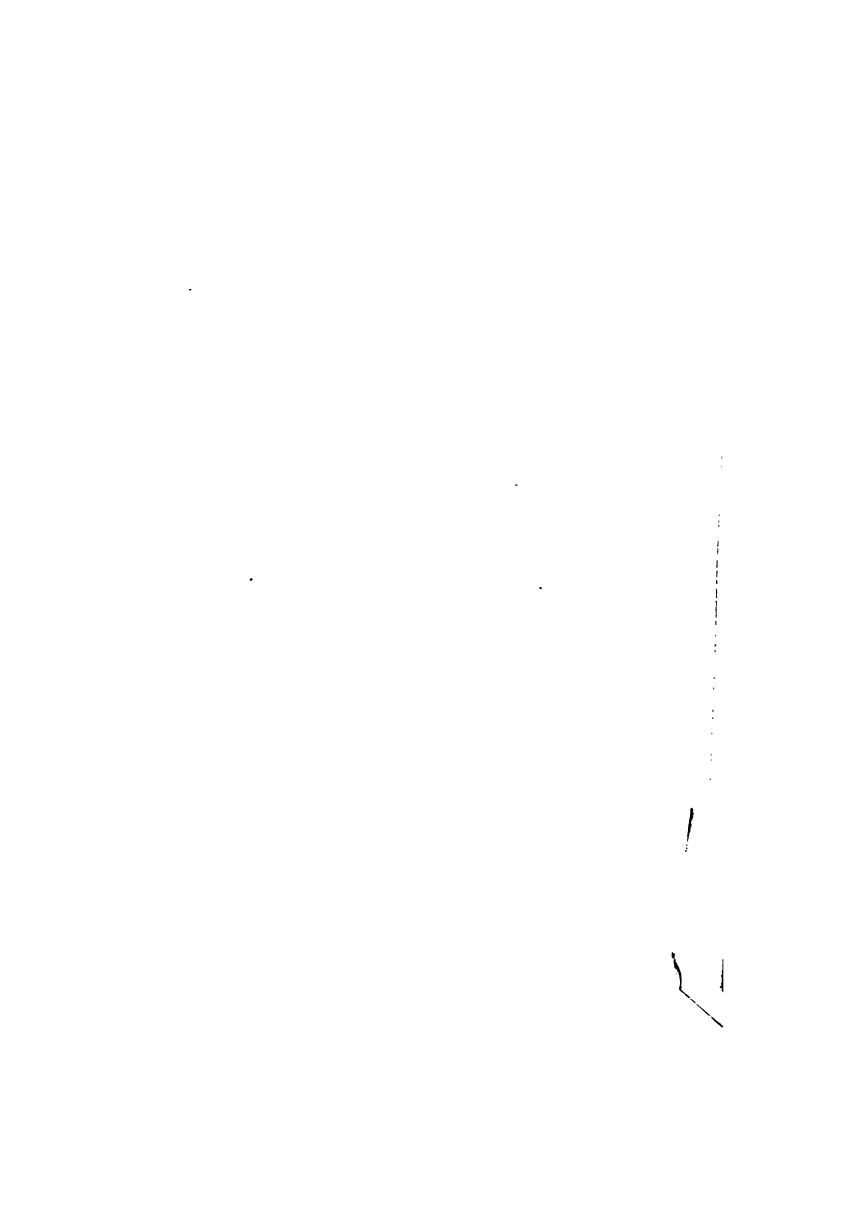
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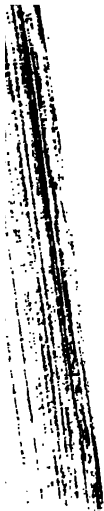












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